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MATRILINIAL KINSHIP, AND THE QUESTION OF ITS PRIORITY

By
E. SIDNEY HARTLAND

MATRILINEAL KINSHIP, AND THE QUESTION OF ITS PRIORITY

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND

I

WHEN Sir Henry Maine published in the year 1861 his remarkable work on *Ancient Law*, little attention had been paid to the growth and development of human society. The science of anthropology was then in its infancy. Evolution had only just been announced by Darwin as the law of the external world; and it had not as yet been applied by methodical investigation to the history of human institutions. In this country [England] Maine was the first to discover its importance. He was a lawyer whose life had been spent in India. The study of Hindoo institutions had impressed him with their similarity to those of ancient Rome. Although he saw that the law of the Twelve Tables was the earliest point at which the juridical history could be taken up, because it was the first written statute, he saw equally clearly that it presupposed a long line of immemorial unwritten tradition, during which custom was evolving and gradually hardening into definite law. But familiar only with the ancient customs and codes of Rome, of the Hebrews, and of the Hindoos, he based on these his scientific exposition of the origin and evolution of social organization. These codes were framed for societies in the patriarchal stage, when descent was traced through the father and the father was the ruler of the family. It did not occur to him to go behind the codes to the customs of an earlier date, for the purpose of ascertaining whether patriarchal institutions had always existed among the peoples of Rome, of India, and of Palestine; still less to inquire, except in a very cursory manner, how other peoples were organized. Consequently, he lays it down that

> the effect of the evidence derived from comparative jurisprudence is to establish

that view of the primeval condition of the human race which is known as the Patriarchal Theory.[1]

He delineates a society organized on the patriarchal model, "as collected from the early chapters in Genesis" in the following way:

> The eldest male parent—the eldest ascendant—is absolutely supreme in his household. His dominion extends to life and death, and is as unqualified over his children and their houses as over his slaves; indeed the relations of sonship and serfdom appear to differ in little beyond the higher capacity which the child in blood possesses of becoming one day the head of a family himself. The flocks and herds of the children are the flocks and herds of the father; and the possessions of the parent, which he holds in a representative rather than in a proprietary character, are equally divided at his death among his descendants in the first degree, the eldest son sometimes receiving a double share under the name of birthright, but more generally endowed with no hereditary advantage beyond an honorary precedence.[2]

Such is Sir Henry Maine's generalization. It will be observed that the emphasis is laid on the family property and the paternal power —a power which reached its apogee in early Roman law, and is technically known as the *Patria Potestas*. Later, in explaining the *Patria Potestas*, he arrives almost incidentally at the foundation of this form of social organization; namely, the reckoning of kinship exclusively on the paternal side.

> A female name closes the branch or twig of the genealogy in which it occurs. None of the descendants of a female are included in the primitive notion of family relationship.[3]

The result then of his inquiries is that the *primitive* method of reckoning descent is through men only, that the power and the property of a family are vested in its head as father, and that the vesting of this power and property is derived from the method of reckoning descent.

The same year that was signalized by the publication of *Ancient Law* witnessed also the publication of a work maintaining an opinion exactly the contrary of Sir Henry Maine's. An eminent Swiss lawyer, named J. J. Bachofen, had come to the conclusion,

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[1] Maine, p. 122. I quote from the third edition.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

from an investigation of classical literature, that the earliest method of reckoning descent was through women only, and that the earliest organized rule was matriarchal and not patriarchal. His book is entitled *Das Mutterrecht*, the name which he gave to this polity, an historical phenomenon, he declares, that had hitherto been considered by few and investigated by nobody in its entirety. He starts from Herodotus's account of the Lycians:

> One custom they have which is peculiar to them, and in which they agree with no other people, that is, they call themselves after their mothers and not after their fathers; and if one ask his neighbour who he is he will state his mother's parentage and enumerate his mother's foremothers; and if a woman who is a citizen wed a slave her children are accounted of gentle birth, whereas if a man who is a citizen, even if the first among them, have an alien wife or concubine the children that may be born are without right of citizenship.[1]

From this example of matrilineal descent, attested by the Father of History and declared by him to be unique, the jurist proceeds to examine the mythical history and customs of various states of antiquity (traveling as far to the east as India and Central Asia, and to the west as far as the Cantabrians of Spain) and illustrating them wherever possible by works of art preserved in museums. He has no difficulty in showing that the myths and customs can in many cases be explained by the hypothesis of a social condition in which kinship was reckoned only through women, and which must have preceded the reckoning of patrilineal descent posited by Maine as the primitive condition of mankind. But he goes further and with the aid of traditions of the Amazons and other stories comes to the conclusion that the primitive condition was one of promiscuity, and that it was ended by an uprising of the women, who were weary of the unbridled passions of men and insisted on the protection of marriage. They resorted to physical force, and banding themselves together obtained the victory. With it they established the institution of marriage (by which he apparently means monogamy) and the reckoning of maternal lineage only; and they won for their sex political and social supremacy. His argument is learned, but tiresome and full of repetitions. It is incumbered

[1] Herodotus, l. 1, c. 173.

also by views quite untenable of the evolution of Greek religion. He was a pioneer, who lived before the discoveries at Hissarlik, at Mycenae and other sites in Greece and Asia Minor, in Crete and elsewhere in and near the Mediterranean basin. The studies that have thrown so much new light on the early history of that part of the world during the last five and twenty or thirty years were inaccessible to him. And he seems to have been unacquainted with the customs and legends of nations outside the area of ancient civilization or unmentioned by ancient writers: indeed, to say the truth, they have been for the most part revealed by scientific inquiries since his day. As McLennan says of him, "he saw the fact that kinship was anciently traced through women only, but not why it was the fact."

McLennan also was a lawyer. In writing the article on "Law" for the eighth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, his attention was drawn to the existence of institutions and customs in various parts of the world inconsistent with the patriarchal theory. This led him subsequently to further investigation, during which "the meaning and origin of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies" came under consideration. The course of his reasoning upon a wide survey of cases, occurring alike in savage and civilized communities, pointed to matrilineal, rather than patrilineal, descent as the primitive form of social organization. Bachofen's work was unknown to him; and the result of his labors, published in 1866 under the title of *Primitive Marriage*, was therefore independent of that of the continental jurist. Like Bachofen, he was a pioneer in a very difficult region of human history—if that may be called history which is concerned so largely with peoples who have no written records. Unlike Bachofen, however, but like Maine, he had a gift of clear and forcible exposition, and he was free from the burden of arbitrary and fanciful mythological theories current at that time among the learned men of Germany. His works, therefore, speedily provoked discussion. His main thesis—that the earliest condition of human society was one of unorganized promiscuity and that organization began with the reckoning of kinship through females only—was accepted by Sir John Lubbock in his

work on *The Origin of Civilization*, published in 1870. The same position was taken by Dr. Lewis H. Morgan, the American anthropologist, apparently as the result of independent inquiry. And ultimately even Maine was forced to admit the possibility that some other forms of social organization might have been of greater antiquity than the patriarchal form, which he had claimed as primitive. Thenceforward for some years the priority of maternal kinship to paternal was generally, though perhaps not universally, accepted. But McLennan's further contentions—that female infanticide, induced by the necessities of savage life, led to the capture of women from other tribes, and this to the general practice of exogamy, or marriage outside the tribe, that exogamy was the cause of matrilineal kinship, that marriage thus beginning with the capture and appropriation of women, resulted in paternity becoming certain and so led to patrilineal kinship—have always remained the subject of controversy.

At the close of the nineteenth century, however, Professor Baldwin Spencer and Mr. F. J. Gillen investigated and described certain tribes in the center of Australia. Inhabiting an arid land, they appeared to have been shut off for ages from external influences. They were naked. They practised rites of the most cruel and revolting character. And it was claimed, if not by the explorers themselves, at all events by some distinguished anthropologists, that they were on the lowest step of savagery—that they were in fact the most "primitive" people now existing on the surface of the globe. It was found, contrary to our experience of other peoples called "primitive," that they counted descent along the paternal line; and it was argued that in primitive conditions the one mode of reckoning was as easy as the other. All that is meant is that an individual belongs to one particular group, not that he is the offspring of a particular parent. Where therefore the tribe is so far organized that men of a given group have marital relations only with the women of another given group, and *vice versa*, it is a matter of indifference in which way the descent is counted. It is only when men of one group "have marital relations with women of more than one group," that it becomes of importance. Then,

indeed, "unless each woman be restricted to one man, descent, if counted at all, must of necessity follow the female line."[1] To have connubial relations with more than one group seems thus to be regarded as less primitive than to have such relations with one only.

On the North American continent also more extensive examination of the aboriginal tribes than was practicable to Morgan has revealed the fact that many of those tribes are organized by means of paternal descent; their social order is far removed from the elaborate matrilineal organization of the Iroquois, which Morgan had investigated most completely, and which he regarded as typical. American anthropologists are accordingly more and more disinclined to the theory of the universal priority of maternal kinship.

A new impetus has thus been given to the attack, previously languishing, on the priority of matrilineal reckoning. Discarding therefore McLennan's theories of the mechanism of progress of social institutions, which have never been generally adopted in detail, and discarding the ambitious attempt to delineate the general course of the evolution of social organization, I propose to inquire what are the cases in which descent (and therefore kinship, for kinship depends upon descent) is counted through the father, and in which this mode of reckoning has been claimed as so far primitive that it is impossible to get behind it to any earlier definite social order. Having discovered them I shall endeavor to test the claim by the help of such means as are at my disposal. These cases are chiefly found in North America and Australia; accordingly, it is to them that our attention will be directed. There are three, and only three possible modes of counting descent; first, through the father alone; second, through the mother alone; and third and last, our own way, through both parents. Change may therefore have occurred from paternal to maternal descent, from maternal to paternal descent, from one of these to descent through both parents, or conversely from descent through both parents to descent through the father only or through the mother only.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 36, note.

Now, it may be said without fear of contradiction that there is no recorded instance of a tribe or people organized on the basis of descent through both parents abandoning either parent to reckon descent only through the other. Cases in which societies counting descent through one parent only have advanced to the acknowledgement of both, may, or indeed must, have happened many times in the progress of civilization. We are not here concerned with such examples. A few savage peoples, like the Andamanese and the Eskimo, are found who trace their descent through both parents. They are exceptional: the overwhelming majority of peoples in the condition of savagery regard the one sex or the other as the exclusive *stirps*. We are justified, therefore, in postulating this as the normal path of evolution.

There is, so far as I am aware, only one instance in which it has ever been plausibly contended that paternal descent has given way, or shown signs of giving way, to maternal descent. The instance is that of the Kwakiutl of British Columbia. We will discuss the institutions of this tribe hereafter. In the meantime we may take note of the fact that it is a solitary case, and proceed to the consideration of those in which the converse transition from maternal to paternal descent has been asserted and denied.

But as a preliminary we must consider what are the chief characteristics of the matrilineal organization of society. This we shall best do by taking a people in which that organization is exhibited in its full strength, and noting its peculiarities. Such a one we find in the Menangkabau Malays of the Padang Highlands of Sumatra. They form an agricultural population settled in districts, each consisting of a number of villages. Among themselves they are divided into clans descendible only in the female line. These clans, though distributed through the districts, or settlements called *negari*, do not dwell promiscuously; but the members of a clan, or *suku*, live together, forming a separate village, or *kota*. Marriage within the *suku* is forbidden. When a woman marries she remains in her own *suku* and *kota*.

In fact, she never forsakes the house in which she was born and has grown up. But the husband on his side also remains with his own clan in its settlement:

no more than his wife does he forsake his birthplace. Marriage thus results in no dwelling together of the married pair. Married life reveals itself merely in the form of visits paid by the husband to his wife. He comes, that is to say, by day, helps her in her work in the rice fields, and takes his mid-day meal with her. This at least is the way it begins. Later, the visits by day become rarer; the man comes only in the evening to his wife's house, and stays, if a faithful husband, until the following morning.

The family thus comprises not husband, wife, and children, for husband and wife have no common dwelling. It consists merely of the mother with her children and remoter descendants. The head of the household is usually her eldest brother. His rights and duties towards her children are those that we ordinarily associate with the father: the actual father has nothing to say in the matter. Belonging to his own *suku*, the household of his mother and his mother's descendants, his duties and his correlative rights, if he be the eldest brother, are toward his sister's children. The children thus look to their uncle, their mother's brother, and not to their father, as their provider and ruler. Property is divided into two classes: family property, which belongs to the stock in common and is administered by the head of the household; and individual property, earned by a man's own industry. When husband and wife acquire property by their joint labor, they own it in common. When a man dies, his interest in the property of his own family remains to them, his individual property descends on his brothers and sisters and his sister's children. The common property of husband and wife is divided between the survivor on the one hand and the successors of the deceased on the other hand. When a woman dies, these successors are her children, and failing them her brothers and sisters. They it is on whom her property-rights devolve; her husband has no share. If the marriage-bond be severed in the lifetime of both parties their common property, it is needless to say, is divided between them. Heritable titles and dignities descend on death in a similar way to property.[1]

This, omitting for the moment local deviations, is the organization of the Menangkabau Malays. Lest, with their settled agri-

[1] Wilken, "Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijkis en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras," *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. I, pp. 313–9.

cultural life and their rules of inheritance, it be thought to be a development special to a certain stage of civilization, that, however rude in our eyes, is yet far removed from primitive savagery, we will turn to the Seri of the Californian gulf. Their chief seats are the group of barren islands, of which Tiburon is the largest. They are untameable savages, among the fiercest, the lowest and most miserable of the human race. Living in constant warfare, supporting themselves by the chase or by the collection of shellfish, they are always on the edge of famine, and are frequently reduced to inconceivably nauseous expedients to find food. They are organized on strictly maternal lines. *Mutterrecht*, Bachofen's term which has been conveniently englished as mother-right, in its widest significance is their polity. So unapproachable are the Seri that scarcely any white explorers have been able to get into peaceable contact with them. If the single report we have upon them may be trusted, they go near to presenting that ideal institution, a matriarchate. It will have been noted that the ladies of the Padang Highlands in Sumatra have submitted to the intrusion of mere man into the region of government. Their Seri sisters would scorn the yoke. Men may be their providers and defenders—they may hunt and they may fight: it is their duty. They may even perform the function, which is not, however, by any means confined to them, of medicinemen or shamans. In this capacity, or as war-chiefs, they may dominate the movement of groups, but internal affairs, never! The matrons participate with them in what we may call judicial and legislative functions. The executive power of the family seems to be exercised by the mother's brothers in order of seniority only through or in conjunction with her. And when she is a shaman of repute she is more reverenced than any man. To such an extent is this reverence carried that one of the most important considerations in the selection of the chief of a band is his consort's reputation for "shamanistic potency." The very name of the tribe expresses the predominance of woman. Seri is a foreign appelation: the native name is *Kunkáak*, which appears to mean womanhood, or rather motherhood.

The tribe is made up of clans defined by consanguinity reckoned only in the female line. Each clan is headed by an elder-woman, and comprises a hierarchy of daughters, granddaughters and (sometimes) great-granddaughters, collectively incarnating that purity of uncontaminated blood which is the pride of the tribe.

The masculine element is merely supplementary to this. The huts are temporary shelters of the rudest kind. However rude it may be, both the hut and its contents belong exclusively to the matron. Her brothers, indeed, are entitled to places in it. A husband has in comparison with them no rights there. If there, his normal place is the outermost in the group, where he acts as a sort of outer guard or sentinel. Marriage, the permanent union of man and woman, is recognized. The candidate for a lady's hand, when provisionally accepted, after lengthy discussions, by the girl and her mother and matronly relations, is required to submit to a year's probation of the most arduous and exacting character. He must give proof of his ability and success in the chase. While himself continent, even when sharing his bride's tent and sleeping-robe, he must recognize without a murmur her right to receive "the most intimate attentions" from his clan-fellows. At the close of the year if still approved, he provides a feast and becomes a permanent guest in his bride's hut. As her husband, he is endowed with great personal privileges, the reward of his constancy and of his efficiency as provider and protector; but in regard to her family and domestic affairs he is wholly subordinate, without any authority even over his children. Such domestic authority as a man possesses relates not to his wife's household, but to that of his mother and sisters.[1]

The main lines of mother-right in its typical form are now patent. Descent is reckoned through the mother only. She continues after marriage to reside with her kin; the husband is a more or less permanent guest without authority in the house. That authority is vested in the wife or her mother, or in her male relatives, some one of whom (commonly her brother) is the head of the household

[1] McGee, *Seventeenth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 168*, 269*, 272*, 275*, 279*.

and the normal guardian and ruler of her children. Property, where there is property, is inherited by the next of kin. That is to say, a woman's property, when she dies, goes to her children, or failing them to her brothers and sisters by the same mother; a man's property, on the other hand, falls not to his children, but to his brothers and sisters by the same mother, or to the children of his sisters. Wife or husband is in either case excluded. Conversely, when the state of civilization admits of the existence of debts, and a debtor dies, the persons liable for the payment are those to whom his property would fall. And where titles and honors are hereditary, they follow the female line.

The weakening of this polity may come in different ways. Among the Syntengs of the Jaintia hills in Assam it subsists in full force. The husband does not reside with his wife: he only visits her at her mother's house after dark. He does not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there,

> the idea being that because none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Synteng house is visited, it is unusual to find husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work.[1]

The husband is thus a mere agent for the purpose of continuing the family of his wife. But among their neighbors, the closely related Khasis of the adjacent Khasi hills,

> after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house of his own.

While she lives in her mother's house, all her earnings (which are mainly derived from cultivation of the soil) are given to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. From the time she leaves the house she and her husband pool their earnings and spend them in the support of their joint family. Despite the removal, however, the children still belong to the wife and her family. The wife's brother, or maternal uncle, is the head of that family, and is regarded by the children "more in the light of a father than of an uncle." In case of divorce, which is common,

[1] Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 76.

the children follow their mother back to her family. Yet the father counts for something more in a Khasi household, than where mother-right reigns in full power. Facing the dangers of the jungles, and risking his life for wife and children, in his own family circle he is nearer to his wife and children than the wife's brother; and even in her clan (to which of course he does not belong) he occupies a place of high regard, second only to her brother. Among the various divinities of the Khasi religion ancestors are worshipped with offerings, in order that they may help and bless the living members of the clan. The ancestors thus worshipped are not only those of the mother's clan. The father also is included; and "special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade." Another significant consequence of the strengthening of paternal power is found in the law of inheritance. All property acquired by a man before marriage belongs to his mother, or rather to his clan. But when he marries and there are children of the marriage the property acquired after marriage remains to his wife and children. The wife's earnings being pooled with her husband's are rendered indistinguishable from his. This leads naturally to the claim of widow and children to the accumulations made during the conjugal life.[1]

The Indragiri valley was settled by Menangkabau Malays from the Padang Highlands in the fourteenth century. There they came in contact with Mohammedan influences, which modified the ancient matrilineal institutions still preserved by the rest of the tribe in their original seats. These influences can be traced in increasing strength as the valley is descended. In the higher settlements almost the only change observable is that the husband, though rarely, comes to live permanently with his wife in the dwelling of her family. Further down it becomes the general rule that he should either enter his wife's family-dwelling, or build a new house for her and himself in the place where her *suku*, or clan, is settled. Family life thus begins to develop at the expense of clan life. Rank and title have a tendency, faint as yet, to fall after a man's death to his children. Still lower down, although the division

[1] Gurdon, pp. 76, 78, 79, 81, 83, 109 *sqq*.

into *sukus* persists, their limits are less sharply distinguished. Their members have a tendency to settle elsewhere, sometimes for a time, sometimes permanently, and in the latter case to choose a new head. Marriage within the *suku* has become frequent. When two members of different *sukus* marry, as a rule they live together; either the husband goes to the settlement of the wife's *suku*, or if his *suku* be the more powerful he builds a house in his own village and takes her thither. The children in the latter case belong to his *suku*, and the mother's clan has little or no claim over them. Yet the transfer to the father's clan is so imperfect that if the husband and wife separate in their lifetime the children follow her. The distinction between the different kinds of property recognized in the Highlands is becoming effaced. At the death of either of the spouses the property is now very often divided between the survivor and the children; and where there is offspring, sisters' children get no share. The children of the deceased are, on the other hand, liable for his or her debts, and may even be pawned to secure payment.[1]

Japanese society, when it first came under the observation of Europeans, was organized on paternal lines. In earlier days descent was reckoned through the mother. The ancient chronicles show that there was no obstacle to marriage with a sister by the same father, but not by the same mother, while on the other hand union with a sister by the same mother was regarded as incest.[2] More than that, the wife after marriage remained with her own kindred, and the husband had merely the right to visit her by night, as among the Syntengs. Indeed, the word for marriage signified *to slip by night into the house.* It was only in the fourteenth century of our era that the husband's house finally became the center of the family life, and husband and wife dwelt regularly together. Even yet relics of the former state of things may be found. The wife is much less dependent on her husband than in Europe. She retains her own property, and may enter into business without being

[1] *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandische Indië*, vol. XXXIX, p. 40 *sqq.*

[2] Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. I, p. 277, 323; *Id.*, *Shinto*, p. 249.

authorized by him, though there are some things she cannot do without his permission. A more direct survival is the *Iri-muko* form of marriage, which is entered into by an only daughter of a family without sons. Her husband, in such a case, goes to live in her parent's house, and the issue bear not his but the maternal name. Sometimes, moreover, a man who has daughters but no sons adopts a stranger as son, takes him into the household, and gives him one of his daughters in marriage. This is called *Muko-ioshi*. The children born of this marriage are considered as the heirs of their maternal grandfather. The husband has a purely subordinate position, and one that is not to be envied.[1]

In Africa many tribes, as well of the Bantu as of the true Negroes, reckon kinship on the maternal side. Others have passed into the patrilineal stage, usually into almost full patriarchal organization; none more so than the southeastern Bantu, commonly known indiscriminately as Kaffirs. Yet they have certain customs hardly to be explained, unless as remnants of a previous form of organization in which kindred was matrilineal. We have seen that in mother-right the authority is vested in some male of the maternal clan, commonly her eldest brother or uncle. Among these tribes, where the father is the head of the family, and the wife resides with him, often at a distance from her parental home, where inheritance is in the male line and the paternal ancestors are the object of the principal cult, the *malume*, or mother's brother, has preserved a very significant position. Among the Thonga it is his duty to provide the skin in which the mother carries her first child. When the child is weaned—which may not be until he is four or five years old—he goes to stay at the kraal belonging to his mother's family, and remains there for years. A Kaffir bridegroom is required to pay a bride-price: a marriage is not valid without it. The bride's maternal uncle has nothing to say on the choice of a husband—that rests with her father. But he is

[1] *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. VIII, p. 410, citing and reviewing F. Tsugaru, *Die Lehre von der Japanischen Adoption;* p. 422, citing and reviewing K. Twasaky, *Das Japanische Eherecht. Cf. Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 343, citing and reviewing T. Fukuda, *Die gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Entwickelung in Japan.*

entitled to a portion of the bride-price; and the father dare not refuse it, lest the maternal ancestors kill him, or render his daughter barren. The *malume* and all the mother's relatives are invited to the feast when the bride-price is received, at which they are entitled to a special part of the ox that is slain for the occasion. When the bride is led to her husband's kraal they are entitled to another gift. On the other hand, they must provide certain objects which form a definite part of her outfit. Divination sometimes indicates that sacrifices (especially for a sick child) must be offered to the maternal ancestors; and then it is the *malume* whose duty it is to perform them. At the final ceremonies after a death in the northern branch of the Thonga tribe the *malume* of the deceased purifies the surviving members of the family. Most remarkable of all is perhaps the right of a brother over a sister, when he has no children. On the father's death his son takes his place as head of the family. In this capacity he is his sisters' guardian. If he be childless he may refuse to allow a sister to be married, by declining to accept the bride-price for her. He undertakes the husband's duty of burying her in case she dies. Meanwhile he allows her (indeed, expects her) to have lovers and to give birth to children. But these children will belong to the mother's family, not to the father's. The effect of paying a bride-price is twofold: it entitles the husband to the possession of his wife at his own kraal, thus legalizing the marriage; and it gives him the right to the offspring of the marriage. Though the children may reside for years at the maternal home, they do not settle there; they belong to the father's family, and they return eventually to it. Without payment of a bride-price the lover gets neither exclusive possession of the woman—she is not married to him—nor is he entitled to reckon the children to his family. The mother's brother appropriates the sons; they take his totem, they inherit his property. If he be childless they continue his line.

On the other side, a woman's lawful children have special privileges with regard to their maternal uncle. They take a prominent part in the sacrifices to his ancestors. The nephews are on terms of familiarity with him. They may take any food they

like from him without asking permission. They are addressed by his wives as "husband." After his death they will be given certain of the wives, though any children that may result will be counted as his.[1]

So among the Basuto, another of the southeastern tribes, the *malume* enjoys special rights over the children. It is his duty to protect them and to purify them by means of sacrifices, which must evidently be offered to the maternal ancestors. At circumcision he presents his nephew with an assegai and heifer. He pays part of his marriage expenses. In return, he is entitled to a share of the spoil taken by his nephews in war, of the game they kill, and of the cattle paid as bride-price for his nieces. Moreover, when a woman finds that she is about to give birth to her first child she returns to her maternal home, and the child is born there. When the baby is a month old she takes it to her husband's kraal; but as soon as it is weaned it is sent back to her parents, "to whom it will in future belong," although the husband has paid a bride-price for her.[2]

In southwestern Africa, we seem to have surprised the Herero in the very act of transition from mother-right to father-right. The Herero have a twofold organization. In the paternal line the *oruzo* (pl. *otuzo*) reckons all ascendants and descendants through males only. The wife, as among the Kaffir of the southeast, is taken to her husband's kraal. It is said she even enters his *oruzo*, or patrilineal clan. The *oruzo* is distinguished by the mode of dressing the hair of its members, by its food taboos and rules of sacrifice, and by the color and shape of the horns of the cattle kept by its members. These peculiarities appear to be totemic, though of a totemism divergent from that usually met with; and the totem, it need hardly be said, is inherited in the male line. Over against the *oruzo* stands the equally definite *eanda* (pl. *oma-anda*), or matrilineal clan, descendible exclusively through women. This also is totemic, though apparently the totemic

[1] Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. I, pp. 44, 226, 253, *sqq*., 212, 255 *sqq*., 262, *sqq*.

[2] Casalis, *The Basutos*, pp. 180–1, 191; Minnie Martin, *Basutoland*, p. 94.

usages have all been taken over by the *oruzo*. Yet it can appeal to the traditions of the people for evidence of its antiquity. The Herero are said to have originated from an *omumborombonga*-tree in the far northeast of the country. A human pair sprang from this tree. Their daughters obtained their names from certain objects of the external world with which they came into contact. Being blessed with female descendants, they transmitted by their means the names to the *oma-anda* descended from them. As we might have expected, the mother's brother—here called the *ongundue*—has his importance as guardian of the children. Cousins on the mother's side call themselves brothers and sisters. The young wife awaits the birth of her child in her mother's hut. Marriage in the *eanda* was formerly forbidden; and though this prohibition is falling into neglect, such marriages are still exceptional. The chief property of the Herero is their cattle, which are highly prized. Cattle are usually heritable only on the paternal side. But if that side fail, they go over to the *eanda;* and the *eanda*-heir may take them to his own kraal on performing a religious ceremony, through which he incorporates them, as it were, with his *oruzo*. Moreover, the blood-feud is carried on only by the *eanda*. When a man is slain his avengers are his brothers and mother's brothers; when a woman is killed they are her sons, brothers and uncles on the mother's side. And the objects of their vengeance are the guilty person and his *eanda*. The *oruzo* in either case has nothing to do with the matter. Thus every Herero is a member of two independent organizations—on the father's side, of the *oruzo*, on the mother's, of the *eanda*. All indications point to the priority of the *eanda* which the newer institution of the *oruzo* is gradually overcoming.[1]

The Baganda are among the northernmost of the Bantu peoples. They carried Bantu civilization to the highest point achieved before the coming of the white man. Among them "descent was reckoned through the male line; children were members of the

[1] Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 10–19; Meyer, *Wirtschaft und Recht der Herero*, pp. 25–33, 39. The property of women seems to be heritable on the female side, *ibid.*, p. 32.

father's and not of the mother's clan." To this, however, there was one exception. "Every prince belonged to the clan of his mother, not of his father, and took his mother's totems. In addition, the Lion and Leopard clans claimed to be descended from princes, and hence to include all princes among their members. Thus besides his mother's totems every prince, and consequently every king, had the lion and leopard for additional totems; nor was this all, every prince and king claimed in addition the eagle for his totem, though in fact there was no Eagle clan. Thus all princes had three totems besides those which they inherited from their mothers. The clans to the present time speak of having given birth to such and such kings, and claim them as members of their clan."[1]

It has been said by a distinguished American anthropologist that

> there may be special rules for the inheritance of certain offices distinct from those which otherwise hold. The coexistence of different rules of descent for different social groups is well established in various primitive tribes.

It is suggested that this may be the explanation of the rule that

> in Uganda descent of clan-membership was patrilineal for all except princes of royal blood, who were always reckoned of kin with their mother.[2]

As an explanation, however, it has one trifling defect: it explains nothing; it merely states a fact—the very fact that calls for explanation. A people does not say "Go to! Let us have a different rule of descent for different offices—for kings, for priests, for diviners, and so forth." The different rules of descent grow out of facts in their history, in the evolution of their social organization; and it is there that their explanation must be sought. If we look closely at the social rules of the Baganda, it will be evident that although ordinary people claimed descent through the father only, there are relics of a former condition in which the descent was traced on the contrary through the mother. A woman's children "were taught in infancy to respect her totems, and to avoid them"—that is, to act as if their mother's totem were also theirs—"but when they

[1] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 82, 128.

[2] Lowie, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xx, p. 76.

grew up, they adopted their father's totems, and seldom mentioned those of the mother." Adoption implies choice. The choice may have become so universal by custom that it was at last unconscious. To conform to it may have been looked upon as compulsory. But however unconscious the choice had become, it is clear that the transfer itself from the mother's totem to the father's remained perfectly conscious, and that it took place as an act of adolescence, It was a step to adult life with its full rights and duties. Such a transfer is hardly to be explained, unless at one time it was a deliberate choice. If so, it must mean that patrilineal descent had supervened upon mother-right, and had conquered it. But this is not all. Though patrilineal descent was established, "a man was forbidden to marry a woman from his mother's clan, because its members were regarded as his near relations." [1] It will be remarked that the careful and experienced missionary, to whom we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the inner life of the Baganda, does not use the word *family*, as if the prohibition were confined to marriage within the immediate circle of the mother's kin, and were founded upon a supposed horror of incest in the modern and civilized sense. The prohibition extended to her entire clan, to every member of that body that shared her totem—in other words, to all those with whom intermarriage is forbidden where exogamic mother-right is the social organization. It is curious too that this appears to be the only trace of totemic exogamy. We are nowhere told that a man was forbidden to marry within his father's clan. His father's brother's children were his brothers and sisters; presumably he might not marry his sisters. There were other women whom he might not marry, or even approach. They were all near relations in our sense of the word—his father's sisters' daughters and his mother's brothers' daughters—or else his wife's mother. On the other hand, his mother's sisters' children were his brothers and sisters too.[2] This, unless they happened to be children also of his father's brothers, would be irreconcilable with pure patrilineal descent. But it is exactly what is found in a matri-

[1] Roscoe, p. 128.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

lineal community. Examination of these rules, therefore, confirms the inference that the original organization of Baganda society was matrilineal; it adds the impression that in the transit to a patrilineal polity, the principle of exogamy had broken down and tended to be replaced by a system of forbidden degrees, founded on a more civilized and accurate appreciation of consanguinity.

The inference is further strengthened by other rules and observances. The mother's brothers were all held to be related to her children; and the special position in which they stood is emphasized by the fact, found also among the Kaffirs of south-eastern Africa, that their "wives were called the wives of her sons." It does not indeed appear that they had any marital privileges with regard to them during the uncle's lifetime. Upon his death, however, his sister's son performed the important ceremony of ending the mourning by cutting down and burning the main-post of his house; and when he had finished his duties he was "given a woman"—presumably one of the widows—"to wife."[1] The negotiations for a lady's hand were opened by the candidate with her brother, not her father. Neither the father nor the mother seems to have been consulted. They were merely informed when the marriage-contract had been settled. This was done by the bride's brother and paternal uncle, other members of the (paternal) clan being called into consultation upon the bride-price.[2] It was her brother who actually handed her over to the bridgeroom's representative on her wedding-day.[3] When a widow wished to re-marry, it was her brother to whom she confided her wish; and it was her brother who settled the matter with her husband's clan, and through whom the bride-price originally paid for her was refunded to the clan of the deceased.[4] In none of the cases enumerated had the father any say in the matter, so far as we are informed. The favored position of the brother is exactly what is found in a matrilineal clan. It is inconsistent with father-right. But it is one of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 121.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

the traces we may expect to discover of matrilineal descent in a society which has advanced from that mode of reckoning to paternal institutions.

These usages, common to the general body of the nation, throw light on the custom of the royal family to reckon kinship with the mother's clan. There were special rules governing the marriage of the king. His queen was chosen from his half-sisters by the same father, who of course would not belong to his clan, unless their mother happened to do so. But she was never allowed to have children. Seeing that the inheritance of the crown was in the male line, that might have resulted in the transfer of the succession to his (maternal) clan, and its retention there. Indeed, no "princess" was ever allowed to have children, whether by the king (who sometimes took "princesses") or by any other man. The king was at liberty to take wives also from other clans. A clan would become connected with royalty by any son of these connections who succeeded to the throne. It may be conjectured that it was by the competition of the clans for this honor that the matrilineal clan-reckoning of the royal house was preserved amid the common wreck of maternal institutions. It is not insignificant that "in no case did a king ever go through the marriage ceremonies, which made marriage legitimate in the case of peasant or chiefs." Presumably therefore no woman taken by the king adopted his totem in addition to her own, as ordinary wives did.[1] She was not his legitimate wife, and her children were not his legitimate children, according to patrilineal institutions. This would not matter: they would notwithstanding, be reckoned to the mother's clan. They were acknowledged by the king as his offspring; consequently they all ranked as "princes" and "princesses," and the successor was chosen on his death by certain officials from among the sons of women in the royal harem.[2] The arrangement thus seems to have been an elaborate machinery for preventing the royal dignity from becoming the permanent appanage of any single clan. So far Dr. Lowie is right. But to make the explanation complete

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85, 86, 133, 187. The word "princess" is apparently used by Mr. Roscoe to mean the daughter of a king.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

it is necessary to recognize that the means employed were the ancient matrilineal reckoning of kinship, of which traces, and something more than traces, are found in other parts of the social organization.

I have elsewhere[1] presented and discussed a large number of other cases all over the earth, in which the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal reckoning may be inferred from traces of the former polity still to be found. It is needless to repeat the enumeration here. I may pause however to say that the list is very far from being exhaustive, and that the evidence I have given in particular cases is by no means complete. The chapter in question was framed on the assumption of the priority of matrilineal institutions; and it was mainly directed to exhibiting some of the various routes taken by peoples in traveling away from mother-right. Nor is the goal at which they arrive always father-right pure and simple. The ancient Romans are almost the only people who have succeeded in establishing patriarchal rule—father-right in its fullest evolution. The ancient Hebrews, whom we are apt to think of as typically patriarchal, retained many qualifications of that stage derived from an earlier system. Their social organization was, at one time at least, in much the same condition as that of the Baganda. Their literature has however been edited and worked over to such an extent, that the stages of their development are rendered obscure, and would take a lengthy analysis to render clear. The cognate Arabs, as their polity was fixed by the law of Islam, recognize kinship through both father and mother, with a strong emphasis on paternal descent and paternal power. But in the "times of ignorance" they reckoned kinship only through the mother. There is also evidence that the Celtic and Teutonic peoples, who, in common with other European nations, have reached the plane of civilization in which kindred is reckoned on both sides, with a preference to the paternal, have traversed one in which maternal descent was alone counted.

[1] *Primitive Paternity*, chapter v.

II

But it is time to turn to the North American tribes, whose institutions form the starting-point alike of Morgan's far-reaching theories and of his successors' denials. As Dr. Lowie and Dr. Swanton, whose services to American anthropology are to be gratefully recognized everywhere, have summarized those denials most recently, we cannot do better than examine them with some care. Morgan's proof that the *gens* or paternal clan is a development from the maternal clan, the former says, "consists essentially in pointing out that while certain tribes have a gentile system"—that is to say, a system of patrilineal clans—"other members of the same stock have [matrilineal] clans. This is of course a two-edged argument that may with equal force be used to prove that [matrilineal] clans developed from [patrilineal] *gentes*."[1] Dr. Lowie would be right if it could be shown that matrilineal clans have ever developed from patrilineal. But this has nowhere been shown. On the contrary, tribes whose clans are patrilineal have been found all over the world with remains more or less vigorous of institutions inconsistent with paternal claims. These remains have been interpreted as survivals of matrilineal polity. Apparently this interpretation has Dr. Lowie's approval; for he quotes in this sense Mr. N. W. Thomas and Herr Cunow. The latter writes:

> Most of the half-civilized peoples in the stage of father-right today have certainly once known mother-right, as is plainly proved from their customary laws and terms of relationship.

What both these writers deny, and Dr. Lowie with them, is the inference "that female descent has *in all cases* preceded the reckoning of kinship through males."[2] That inference was possibly premature on Morgan's part; but the cases are so numerous that they justify in ample measure the suspicion. Dr. Lowie's opinion is that

> Morgan's interpretation of human society as a whole was not only coloured by his personal observations among the Iroquois, but reflected the trend of his age toward artificial evolutionary schemes.[3]

[1] Lowie, *l. c.*, p. 76. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 80. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

He proceeds to test it by the Indian data on which it was primarily founded, and comes to an adverse conclusion. Let us follow his example.

In doing so, however, we must be careful not to confuse the question we are for the moment discussing, namely, the priority of paternal or maternal exogamous kinship, with the wider one of the universality of exogamy and the exogamous kinship group. Both questions, to be sure, are intimately related. But while so related they are not identical and demand separate treatment. For it may conceivably be that, for instance, the Eskimo may never have passed through the stage of exogamy, but may have passed directly from a more primitive condition, whatever it might have been, to the reckoning of kinship on both sides. The question we are concerned with here is—assuming that normally and apart from a few exceptions that seem well established, kinship was originally reckoned on one side only, was it on the paternal or the maternal side? I am endeavoring here to contribute to the solution of that question, and that question alone, by examining some of the North American tribes among which, it is alleged, there is no evidence that matrilineal kinship had ever been known.

The continent of North America was formerly occupied by a number of tribes, in various planes of culture, and speaking various languages. They have been divided, as the result of scientific inquiry, into a number of stocks, corresponding with the languages they spoke. Though it is true that language is no final test of race, it may be said in general terms that those North American tribes which spoke closely related languages, betray in their institutions such a general likeness that we may provisionally assign to them a common stock, and up to a certain point a common history. The tribes enumerated by Dr. Swanton as having exogamic divisions with descent through the father are the Abnaki, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Menomini, Sauk and Fox, Miami, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Blackfoot, Omaha, Ponca, Winnebago, Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw, Yuman tribes and Kwakiutl. Of all these it is denied that they bear any trace of former matrilineal institutions.[1] With the exception of the Kwakiutl and the Yuman

[1] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 7, p. 668.

they all belong either to the Algonkian or the Siouan linguistic stock.

In a later article Dr. Swanton says:

> It is a striking fact that the tribes presenting mother-right and father-right always occur in contiguous, not in detached areas. We do not find mother-right in one section and father-right in another section with non-totemic tribes between. They are always in conjunction, and in most cases both are represented in each area.[1]

This emphatic statement is illustrated from the various areas of North America. Though he does not explicitly say so, it can only mean, what we might expect, that there is some original connection between matrilineal and patrilineal descent. He goes on to repudiate "the orthodox explanation," namely, "that the matrilineally organized tribes represented the primitive, or at least the earlier, condition from which others had emerged by changing their laws of descent." Admitting that in Australia, India, and Africa "the most advanced tribes are among those with father-right," he claims that in North America "the exact opposite is true." He instances the matrilineal Iroquois and the Creeks, among whom ideas of nationality and government reached their highest level in the eastern totemic era; and the "greatest complication of ritual and the highest culture" in the Pueblo area among those tribes which were matrilineally organized. But here surely there is some confusion. The culture of a people does not progress equally in all directions at once. Influences creep in from various sides gradually. In most cases, though not always, a change is due to an impetus from without. Sometimes it is due to a change of physical environment, sometimes to contact with a people of different culture. Sometimes it relates to material objects—new tools or weapons; sometimes it is concerned with religious ideas; and so forth. It is true that any change, even in material objects, may deeply affect savage life in the long run. The introduction of the horse and the gun among the North American aborigines of the Plains led for a time to greater accumulation of wealth and to a more general polygamy, finally, however, to the destruction of the buffalo on which they mainly depended, and the break-up of their whole polity. This is

[1] *Anthropos*, vol. IX, p. 296.

an extreme case. The introduction of manioc and bananas, and even of the gun, in West Africa scarcely affected native life before the era of European occupation a generation ago. The Iroquois cultivated the ground—a specially feminine labor in the early stages of civilization. This may have helped to preserve a matrilineal organization among them. The Algonkian, on the other hand, were chiefly hunters—a masculine occupation, which may develop a patrilineal organization, but would not be favorable to a settled life and an advance in the industrial arts. So with the Pueblo peoples and those of the North Pacific coast, to which Dr. Swanton also refers, we need to consider their environment physical and human, in order to judge of the various influences which have affected their culture, and to value the comparative progress made by the different tribes in different directions.

A similar reply may be made to his next observation:

> Nor does the theory that one set of these tribes has evolved from a condition represented by the other take into consideration the tribes without definite totemic or exogamous divisions.[1]

We are not dealing here directly with totemism or exogamy: the reckoning of descent is not necessarily dependent on either. In any case it is enough to say that the North American tribes have always been warlike and restless. There has doubtless been a coming and going throughout all time in almost every part of the continent. Such movements are not effected without great changes in the institutions of the peoples. A catastrophe, such as has often occurred since the Discovery, may annihilate a tribe, or reduce it to a fragment consisting of a few dozen families, or even less. In the latter event the survivors may take refuge with a friendly tribe and by amalgamation with it affect its institutions profoundly. If they do not, the reduction in numbers may quite preclude them from maintaining their primitive institutions, except as the price of disappearance off the face of the earth. The Sia, a Pueblo people, are a striking illustration. From various causes they have been so reduced in numbers that whole clans have become extinct. In view of the danger that the tribe will die out, the rule of totemic

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 297.

exogamy, according to which they were formerly organized, is no longer strictly enforced. Mrs. Stevenson says:

> At present there is nothing for the Sia to do but to break these laws, if they would preserve the remnant of their people, and while such marriages are looked upon with disfavor, it is "the inevitable." [1]

The Sia would thus appear to be rapidly approaching the condition of tribes, like those referred to by Dr. Swanton, without exogamic divisions. California, where most of the tribes in this condition are found, is preeminently a land "where fragments of forgotten peoples dwelt." An extraordinary number of different stocks have found refuge there; and it is not surprising that they display wide divergences from the organization common to the rest of the continent. It is just the situation in which the removal of old landmarks might be anticipated, ancient rules would be broken, and distinctions lost. It is not accurate, therefore, to say that tribes in this condition are not taken into consideration. Their history must form the subject of inquiry. This is a matter of difficulty; in most cases, perhaps, it is impossible to recover the stages of their transformation. But it does not follow that they are left out of account.

Dr. Swanton goes on:

> My own explanation would be that the social customs of the two classes of totemic tribes are parallel developments from the looser stage represented by the non-totemic tribes, that, favorable conditions having given rise to the totemic complex, certain tribes have developed it along with mother-right and certain others along with father-right. I am not prepared to deny in some cases tribes with a fully developed totemic system have altered their method of reckoning descent from matrilineal to patrilineal, or the reverse; but the assertion that an entire class has so changed, especially that the change has always been in one direction, from matrilineal to patrilineal, this I say appears to me not borne out by the evidence at hand.[2]

That the highly organized system of totemic exogamy must have been evolved from a looser stage of some kind is obvious. Whether that looser stage is represented by any of the tribes extant within strictly historical times on the North American continent remains

[1] *Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, vol. XI, p. 19.

[2] *Anthropos*, vol. IX, p. 297.

to be proved. When the attempt to prove it is made it will be time enough to consider the hypothesis. Meanwhile, Dr. Swanton admits that the change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions has occurred. In the face of the evidence it is impossible to deny that it has occurred and occurred repeatedly, in different regions of the world. But when he goes on to suggest that the converse change has taken place, he may safely be challenged to produce an instance. The only one in which any evidence is alleged is that of the Kwakiutl, which we will examine hereafter. We now proceed to deal with the Algonkian and Siouan tribes of which he has given us a list. In giving it he says:

> It has been asserted that traces of a previous maternal condition [by which I understand him to mean matrilineal organization] are found in many of these, especially the tribes of Algonkin lineage, and a change such as that implied is of course quite possible; but the arguments that Morgan adduces in proof are too fragmentary to be conclusive, and for the Siouan tribes it is a pure assumption.[1]

We will consider first the Siouan tribes, for on them our information is fullest and most accurate.

It will have been observed that a very usual custom in cases of mother-right is that of the husband going to dwell with his wife in her parental home. Possibly in an earlier stage it was more usual for him simply to visit her at night. At any rate where mother-right is in its purest form this custom is frequently found.[2] If so, the permanent abode of the husband in his wife's house is the first step in the transformation to father-right. Probably it comes about by a gradual lengthening of the husband's visits, until he is at last recognized as a constant inmate. Without insisting on this earlier stage here, it is enough to note that where mother-right is in full force the husband is frequently found dwelling with his wife, not she with him. There are indeed cases, especially in Australia, where, while descent is reckoned through the mother, she resides with her husband and under his protection and power. In the same way there are cases, especially in North America, where, the descent being reckoned through the father, he resides with his

[1] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 7, p. 668.

[2] See the cases of the Menangkabau Malays, the Syntengs and the Japanese cited above. For further evidence my *Primitive Paternity*, vol. 2, chap. V, may be consulted.

wife and her kindred. It is however so generally characteristic of maternal lineage that where it is found together with paternal lineage we may suspect a prior matrilineal stage, though by itself it cannot be held to be decisive.

A feature essential to the organization of mother-right is the power and influence of the mother's brother. In that organization he was the head, or at least the administrator, of the family: it was he who held the *potestas*. Nor was he ousted from that position when the husband came to reside with his wife, nay, even when the husband was the acknowledged master of the house or tent. Gradually of course he lost it as the power of the husband grew. But even when father-right is dominant the mother's brother, as among the southeastern Bantu, has undoubted rights and privileges in regard to her and to her children, which we are justified in regarding as survivals of a much more extensive jurisdiction.

A third characteristic of mother-right is succession to property or to dignities from the mother to her children, or through her from her brother to her children. This is quite incompatible with father-right; and wherever we find it we cannot be wrong in taking it as a vestige of matrilineal organization.

Fourthly and finally, the recognition of kinship with the mother's relatives, when found side by side with the reckoning of descent through the father, is an important indication of a prior stage in which kinship was counted only through the mother. It cannot be considered conclusive, inasmuch as it may arise from an extension of the idea of kinship due to advancing civilization. It commonly, but as we shall see not exclusively, manifests itself in prohibitions of marriage; and it is to be distinguished from the position assigned to the maternal uncle, as of a more general character, extending often to his entire clan.

We are told that among the Siouan tribes the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent is "a pure assumption." We will take first the Omaha, whose culture has been investigated by Miss Alice Fletcher, a very distinguished American anthropologist and an admirable observer. In writing her recent exhaustive report upon them, the fruit of many years' profound study and intimate

acquaintance, she has had the advantage of the collaboration of Mr. Francis La Flesche, the son of a former principal chief of the tribe. We may therefore safely trust ourselves to their guidance. If language and traditions, tribal organization and religious rites be of any value as evidence, the Omaha, the Ponca, Osage, Kansa and Quapaw were originally one tribe. In spite of many migrations and vicissitudes, indeed, they finally separated only within the last few hundred years. During that time certain variations have naturally been developed; but the tribal organizations are still so far similar that the conclusions we may reach in regard to the Omaha will virtually hold good for the four other tribes. Among the Omaha "it was obligatory that a man and wife should belong to different *gentes* and not be of close blood relation through their mothers."[1] That is to say, although descent was reckoned through the father only, they were conscious of kinship through the mother also. This perhaps might be conjectured to be due to a growing consciousness of kinship in the modern and civilized sense. But I think we are justified in connecting it with the corresponding prohibition in the cognate tribe of the Osage, which went much further and excluded the entire *gens* of the mother.[2] A prohibition so extensive is only comprehensible as a relic of matrilineal reckoning. If that be the explanation of the Osage prohibition, then having regard to the history of the tribes we must infer it likewise of that of the Omaha; only among the latter we find it at a somewhat later stage. After marriage, although the pair did not reside with the wife's relations, the young Omaha husband "was expected to work for a year or two for his father-in-law. This latter claim," we learn, "was frequently rigidly exacted, and the father-in-law was sometimes a tyrant over his son-in-law's affairs." At first sight it might seem possible that this was a relic of a bride-price. There does not seem, however, to have been any bargain over the gifts made to the bride's relations to ratify the marriage, and her father "generally presented his daughter with return gifts about equal in value to those he had received."[3] On the other hand,

[1] *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 325.

[2] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 14, p. 127.

[3] *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 324.

his tyranny over his son-in-law's affairs looks like an appropriation by him of the *potestas* vested in strict mother-right in the bride's brother or maternal uncle. It is inconsistent with father-right. Moreover, wherever the young couple dwelt, "the tent or dwelling always belonged to the woman;" and an unkind husband whose conduct led to separation consequently "found himself homeless."[1] Nor was it only the tent that belonged to her. "The cooking and eating utensils, the mortar and pestle for grinding corn and the packs for storing food and clothing—all those things which pertained to the household were the property of the wife." The husband had in fact nothing in the dwelling save "his regalia, clothing, weapons and other personal property"—by which I understand articles of personal use or ornament.[2] All that can be said is that this is exactly what happens under strict mother-right: in fully developed father-right it is impossible. The mother's brother, again, occupied a special position towards the children. No feature stands out more plainly in the organization of a tribe in the lower culture than the blood-feud. It is a consequence of the solidarity of the kin, and is the earliest machinery for the keeping of the peace. An affront or an injury to any member of the kin is resented by all; and on the other hand an offence committed by one member renders all liable to attack and punishment by the offended kin. The principle at least of the blood-feud was acknowledged by the Omaha. During their eventful history and migrations it had, like other portions of their polity, suffered change. The civilized principle of personal punishment for personal guilt was tending more and more to dominance. But the principle of collective responsibility had not entirely given way.

> In all offences, the relatives stood as one. Each could be held responsible for the acts of another—a custom that sometimes worked injustice, but on the whole was conducive to social order.[3]

It is unfortunate that the word "relatives," chosen here to represent the responsible body, is ambiguous. But there can be little

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 326.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 362, 363.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

doubt that it refers to the gens or the subgens, or possibly to some smaller body of kinsmen reckoned on the paternal side; otherwise the term would have been explained, as contrary to the ordinary, if not invariable, rule of savage society. Thus blood-relations through the mother would be excluded. Yet we read that even "during the life-time of parents the uncle [mother's brother] was as alert as their father to defend the children, or to avenge a wrong done them."[1] We cannot mistake in interpreting this as a relic of matrilineal kinship. It is even in some respects a stronger case than that of the *malume* in South Africa, for it is an intrusion into a quarrel which does not concern anyone except the kin. Such an intrusion by one who is not within the kin involves a new breach of social order, and is resented by a new feud. The uncle must therefore have had not only a right, but a duty to interfere. And such duty can hardly be explained save as a survival of earlier kinship through the mother. It must be observed also that, although by the position and authority of the father the maternal uncle may have ceased to have any power in the father's lifetime over the children, he was always regarded "as their friend, ever ready to help them,"[2] he was "a privileged character, at whose practical jokes no nephew or niece must ever take offence." On the other hand they had definite claims upon him. In the spring, after the thunder had sounded, the boys had a festivity called Striped Face. It was so called in reference to the mask representing lightning worn on the occasion. Disguised with the mask the boys sallied forth, clubs in hand, and scattered through the village, each going to his uncle's tent and requisitioning a gift.[3] When a man died his brother was under obligation to marry the widow. This involved the care of the children.

In the event of the death of the mother and father, provided the father had no brothers, the mother's brother had full control of the children, and no relative of the father could dispute the right of the uncle to the children.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

He had the next claim and the correlative duty after those to whom the children fell by operation of the levirate, and to the exclusion of all others who in virtue of patrilineal reckoning would be deemed their kindred. Both right and duty are inconsistent with a patrilineal organization; but they are explicable as a trace of preceding matrilineal organization.

From what has been already said it is evident that a man at death left little property. Landed estate of course he had none. His most valuable property, besides his arms, implements and articles of personal use and adornment, was his horses. All the rest belonged to his wife; and the ownership even of horses was not confined to men. The objects "that had been in immediate use by the deceased were buried with the body." The horses were frequently strangled and though not buried, were left near the burial mound.[1] "Other possessions, as extra weapons and utensils, passed to the children if they were old enough to use them, otherwise to the brothers of the dead man or woman."[2] We shall perhaps be right in inferring that the objects possessed by a man, apart from those that were buried with him or (like horses) destroyed at his death, were generally of so little value that no definite law of succession existed. In any case, the children had no indefeasible claim to them. If they were not judged old enough to make use of them, the goods became the absolute property of the brothers of the deceased—a rule equally consistent with father-right or mother-right. Apparently the surviving husband or wife had no claim. The succession to chieftainship was elective. According to tradition it was at first hereditary, but no particulars of its descent seem to have been recovered.[3]

Before leaving this group of tribes we may note that Mr. La Flesche, one of the joint authors of the monograph just cited on the Omaha, has recorded certain peculiarities of the marriage customs of the Osage. In describing the negotiations for the marriage, he says:

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 363, 592.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 363.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 202.

At this point it is possible for the parents of the girl to reject the proposal; but if they are favorably inclined they now communicate with the maternal uncle and consult with him. If he gives his consent, all the other relatives agree to the proposed marriage.

His consent therefore is necessary and decisive. In pure father-right it would be superfluous, not to say impossible. On the other hand, it is suspiciously like a survival from mother-right. Mr. La Flesche goes on:

The parents of the maiden send a messenger whose duty it is to convey their consent to the parents of the young man, and to announce the time when the ceremony of delivery of the gifts, the maiden, and the young man shall take place. On the appointed day the parents of the young man lead a procession composed of all the relatives of the youth, each one bearing a gift of a horse or a blanket to be distributed among the relatives of the maiden. . . . On the following day the parents of the maiden send her, accompanied by a prominent man, to the home of the prospective bridegroom, to be delivered to him and to his parents and relatives. This act is spoken of as the declaration "We give to you our daughter." The bride takes with her gifts of horses and blankets to be distributed among the relatives of the bridegroom.

So much we might expect in a tribe in the stage of father-right; but the Osage ceremonies do not end here. The transfer of the bride seems merely temporary.

The next morning the relatives of the young man again form a procession, and take both bride and groom to the house of the bride's parents, and deliver her and her husband to her parents and relatives. This act, which completes the marriage, is equivalent to the declaration by the youth's parents: "We give to you our son."

It is not expressly said, but it is to be inferred, that the bridegroom remains with his wife. The inference is confirmed by the scantier ceremonies on the marriage of a widow or *divorcée*. The offer of marriage is referred by her to her parents, if living, or to her nearest relatives. If they consent they send for the lover.

Arriving at the house of the relatives of the woman, he is given a seat beside her, and the marriage is consummated without further ceremony.

Sometimes a youth and maiden who fear opposition to their union take matters into their own hands: they unite in secret.

If this act becomes known to the parents or to other near relatives of the young man, they hasten to make the union a marriage by delivering the young man to

the maiden and her relatives, with gifts of horses and other valuables, thus making the union equivalent[1]

to a formal, legal marriage. Here again nothing definite is said as to the place of abode of the young pair. But it is at least curious that there is no ceremonial delivery of the bride in these circumstances. If the inference be wrong as to the place of residence, at all events the fact that the entire gens of the mother, as well as that of the father, is included in the exogamous prohibitions, and the requirement to obtain the consent of the maternal uncle to the marriage are evidence pointing to the prior existence of mother-right in this patrilineal tribe.

It would be tedious to go through all the Siouan tribes at this length. Besides, they have not all been studied with the same care and minuteness as the Omaha. I must however refer to an article by Dr. Paul Radin on the "Clan Organization of the Winnebago."[2] The tribe is patrilineal; it is organized in gentes which are divided into two exogamous phratries; and certain personal names are appropriated to each clan or gens. But irregularities were found in the course of Dr. Radin's researches: a large number of individuals bore names belonging to the mother's clan, and the war or clan bundle had occasionally passed out of the clan. Dr. Radin discovered explanations, which he deemed satisfactory, without resorting to the explanation of a former prevalence—not of the matriarchate, as he phrases it, but of matrilineal reckoning. I do not feel so confident. In collecting genealogies he discovered that

whenever a person bore a name of a clan not his father's he had a male paternal ancestor who was either a white man or an Indian of another tribe. Such individuals had, of course, no Winnebago clan-name, and consequently a name from the wife's clan was selected. This custom once begun seems to have acted as a precedent, and thereafter the names were taken from the maternal clan, although descent was still reckoned in the paternal line.[3]

What I understand Dr. Radin to mean may be illustrated thus: A foreign Indian, say an Iowa, marries a Winnebago girl of the Eagle

[1] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 14, p. 128 *sqq.*

[2] Radin, "Clan Organization of the Winnebago," *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 12, p. 209 *sqq.*

[3] Radin, *ibid.*, p. 213.

clan, and she bears him a son. Since the father does not belong to any Winnebago clan, his son is given one of the names appropriated to the Eagle clan and he is reckoned to that clan. The son in question marries a Winnebago of the Wolf clan, and in turn has a son by her. He belongs, like his father, to the Eagle clan; but following the precedent in the father's case, he receives a name appropriated to the Wolf clan. It is hard to see why the precedent should have been deemed applicable in a tribe of pure patrilineal descent, without any vestiges of mother-right. There may have been a necessity in the first instance to provide the son of a foreigner by a Winnebago woman with a name taken from her clan, because his father had no Winnebago clan, though I think an Australian tribe would have solved the enigma more ingeniously. But in the second instance to give the son one of his mother's clan names involved a distinct breach of the tribal traditions quite needless, because the father belonged to a Winnebago clan with plenty of names of its own. The same thing may be said of the case supposed by Dr. Radin, where the custodian of a clan bundle, containing the *sacra* of the clan, not having a son suitable to transmit it to, gives it to the son of his sister or of his daughter, rather than to "a distant relative or a stranger." The *sacra* of the clan would thus pass entirely out of the custody of the clan into that not merely of another clan, but of a clan of the opposite phratry: surely a very serious matter. With deference, therefore, to Dr. Radin's opinion, and apart from cases that can be shown to have arisen from growing desuetude under the influence of contact with the white man, such a transaction would seem to be highly improbable, if there were no lurking traditions of maternal descent. Granted such traditions it becomes quite natural.

The opinion is greatly strengthened by two other details of tribal custom. The first is that "a married man always lives with his wife's parents for the first few years after marriage"—a note, though not an infallible one, of matrilineal kinship. The other is that

> the relation of a man to his maternal uncle is very peculiar. A man can take liberties with his maternal uncle, which are expressly prohibited with his paternal

uncle and aunt and his maternal aunt. Yet in spite of this freedom a man and his maternal uncle stand in particularly close relationship, the former always acting in the capacity of a servant. On the warpath, particularly, this relationship is shown in its strongest phase, for then the nephew must accompany him as a sort of esquire and suffer himself to be slain should his maternal uncle . . . be slain or captured.[1]

Dr. Radin thinks that both these points, which he rightly describes as "of considerable importance," "need further investigation before they can be properly understood." By all means let them be investigated. But it will take some proof to remove them—especially the last—from the category of survivals of mother-right. Let us add that Captain John Carver, a British officer who visited the Winnebago in the year 1766, seems to indicate that mother-right was not obsolete even then. His account of the native tribes he visited between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains occupies the second half of the volume describing his travels. To be sure, it is lacking in the scientific fullness and precision of the monographs issued by the American Museum of Natural History in these days. But I quote it that the reader may judge of its value. Writing in general terms of the tribes he knew, he says:

> The children of the Indians are always distinguished by the name of the mother; and if a woman marries several husbands, and has issue by each of them, they are called after her.[2]

Elsewhere, discussing tribal government, he writes:

> Some nations [obviously Indian nations], where the dignity [of chief] is hereditary, limit the succession to the female line. On the death of a chief his sister's son sometimes succeeds him in preference to his own son; and if he happens to have no sister, the nearest female relation assumes the dignity. This accounts for a woman being at the head of the Winnebago nation, which, before I was acquainted with their laws appeared strange to me.[3]

Earlier in the book he relates how he was received by the lady in question, and how he witnessed her presiding in the council of the chiefs.[4]

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[1] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 12, p. 213.

[2] Carver, *Travels* (1781), p. 378.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

I am not clear whether Dr. Swanton contests the matrilineal organization of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, or whether it is their exogamic totemism only that he doubts.[1] It seems clear that all three tribes count descent through the mother, whatever in other respects their organization may be. This is fully accepted by Dr. Lowie;[2] and since I am not here directly concerned with totemism I pass on. With all this evidence, is it fair to say that "for the Siouan tribes it is a pure assumption" that they formerly had maternal descent?[3] On the contrary, I submit with very great confidence that there are unmistakable traces of maternal descent in the institutions of the Siouan tribes enumerated by Dr. Swanton as patrilineal. And it leads to the suspicion that where those traces have not yet been detected, a closer investigation with unbiased mind may result in discovering them, even in the present decay of the aboriginal institutions.

So much for the Sioux: let us turn to the Algonkian. As with the Sioux, so with the far-extended Algonkian-speaking peoples, it is incontestable—indeed, it is admitted—that a number of the tribes were organized on a matrilineal foundation. From Newfoundland to North Carolina they inhabited the Atlantic shores of the continent. Inland they spread through to the eastern and southern territory of what is now Canada and the northern part of the United States to the Rocky Mountains. South of the Great Lakes they occupied the Ohio basin and part of the Mississippi valley from the junction of Kansas river to the northern part of the present state of Iowa. Of the eastern and most of the northern tribes our information is fragmentary and imperfect. Probably the best account we have is that given by the early Jesuit missionaries of the Montagnais, of whom we are definitely told that they were matrilineal.[4] The Lenapé or Delaware were investigated

[1] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 7, p. 668.

[2] Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[3] Among extinct Siouan tribes, the Monacan and the Natchez (if the latter be accepted as Sioux) certainly had matrilineal descent, Mooney, "The Siouan Tribes of the East," *Bulletin 22, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1894), p. 33; Swanton, *Bulletin* 43, *Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 107.

[4] *Jesuit Relations*, vol. VI, p. 255.

about half a century ago by Morgan and by Brinton. So far as it was possible in the broken condition of the tribe to determine the facts then, the Delaware system was similar to that of the Montagnais. It was established that their three (apparently exogamous) divisions or sub-tribes "had each its totemic animal, from which it claimed a mystical descent"; that each of these sub-tribes was again divided into twelve "families" bearing personal (presumably those of eponymous ancestors) names and these were feminine;[1] and that the chieftaincy of the tribe was "still, in theory, hereditary in one family, and in the female line."[2] In the absence of any evidence to the contrary we are entitled, if not compelled, to assume a matrilineal organization. The conclusion is confirmed by a report by Mr. Johnston on the *Indian Tribes Inhabiting Ohio*, in the course of which he remarks generally on the Algonkian tribes of the Delaware, Shawnee, and Ottawa as well as the Wyandot and Seneca (Huron and Iroquois), that in their marriages the brothers and uncles of the woman on the maternal side are consulted as to a proposed match, "and sometimes the father, but this is only a compliment, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail." Elsewhere he states that marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of the wife,

> and when they part, she keeps the children and the property belonging to them and to her. Not infrequently they take away everything the husband owns, his hunting equipage only excepted.[3]

He was, if this be correct, somewhat in the position of an Omaha husband, whose wife owned the tent and its furniture—everything, in fact, but his personal arms, ornaments and clothing.

According to the tradition of the Delaware they, the Shawnee and the Nanticoke, were originally one people. We should expect, if this be true, that the customs and institutions of the Shawnee would bear witness to the primal unity. Johnston's report, as

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[1] Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 171; Brinton, *The Lenapé*, pp. 39, 40.

[2] Morgan, *loc. cit.*, Brinton, *Essays*, p. 189.

[3] McLennan, *Studies*, vol. II, p. 338, citing Johnston from *Archaeologia Americana*, a work I have not been able to consult. The date of his writing seems to have been 1819.

cited by McLennan, supports the expectation, though it is made in general terms applicable to all the tribes of the Ohio basin. He ascribes to them exogamy and descent through females only.[1] Morgan's account, written fifty or sixty years later, however, credits the Shawnee with paternal descent, but with vestiges of a prior matrilineal organization. Dr. Swanton accepts (from Morgan) the paternal descent, but ignores the matrilineal survivals. Like the Winnebago, like the Iroquois also, each clan had its own special personal names which no other clan had a right to use. The names carried with them the rights of the clan to which they belonged, so that the name once given determined the clan of its owner. It might be supposed that if the tribe were patrilineal the names would always follow the rule of the father's clan: that is to say, one of the names out of the stock of the father's clan would invariably be conferred on a child. But this does not seem to have been the course at the time of which Morgan speaks. The father had nothing to say in the matter.

> It was left by the gens to certain persons, most of them matrons, who were to be consulted when children were to be named, with power to determine the name to be given. By some arrangement between the Shawnee gentes these persons had this power, and the name, when conferred in the prescribed manner, carried the person into the gens to which the name belonged.

This is not patrilineal kinship. Nor is it matrilineal. It points rather to a breaking up of the old gentile organization, whatever it may have been. Morgan goes on to relate an incident illustrating the state of things. A certain

> sachem of the Wolf gens, when about to die, expressed a desire that a son of one of his sisters might succeed him in the place of his own son. But his nephew was of the Fish, and his son of the Rabbit gens, so that neither could succeed him,

for the office was hereditary in the Wolf gens. Now if descent were strictly matrilineal the nephew would have belonged to the Wolf gens; and he, not the son, would have been in the line of succession. On the other hand, if descent were strictly patrilineal his son would have belonged to the Wolf gens, and so would naturally have succeeded him. But not only was the organization

[1] McLennan, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

so far decadent that a child might by process of giving him one name rather than another be arbitrarily assigned to any clan: it was possible for him to change his clan by change of name at a subsequent time. So the dying sachem's wish was respected: after his death his nephew's name was changed to one of the Wolf names, and he was elected to the office. The conclusion (which Morgan puts perhaps a little more strongly than his premises warrant, seeing that he does not refer to Johnston's report) is that the clan system of the Shawnee was in decay, and that the incident leads to the suspicion that at no remote period descent was in the female line.[1] To that extent it corroborates Johnston's account. Morgan suggests that the original cause of the change of descent may have been the wish to provide for the devolution of office or property from father to son. This of course is pure speculation, though on some planes of culture such a motive may have accelerated the social evolution. It is perfectly true, as Dr. Lowie insists, "that descent of office and descent of property do not necessarily affect the fundamental matter of reckoning lineage."[2] But we must never forget that descent of office or of property does, naturally and as a rule, follow the line of kinship. It therefore raises a presumption of the reckoning of descent—a presumption that, in the absence of express evidence to the contrary, cannot be waived airily aside.

I go on to the Menomini. The evidence here of a former matrilineal system is more direct than among the Shawnee. Dr. Hoffman, who paid repeated visits to the tribe, made a lengthy and valuable report on it to the Bureau of Ethnology, accompanied by extensive vocabularies both Menomini-English and English-Menomini, which was published in the year 1896. In this report he shows that descent was formerly matrilineal. Dr. Swanton discounts his statement by saying in a note:

> Hoffman states that the organization was formerly maternal, but quotes no authorities, native or white, except a very much qualified statement of Mr. Sutherland in *Collections of Historical Society of Wisconsin*.[3]

[1] Morgan, p. 169.

[2] Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[3] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.) vol. 7, p. 668 note.

This "very much qualified statement" relates to the position, powers and succession of chiefs. The relevant sentences in the present connection are:

> When a chief died, his position was claimed, as a general rule, by his son or some kinsman, as a hereditary right; but oftener perhaps the succession was in the female line. In some instances, when this right fell to one who was judged unworthy to possess it, the tribe chose their own chief. . . .

And he goes on to give examples. After finishing the quotation Dr. Hoffman continues:

> Some of the ancient customs respecting the disposition of property and children, in the event of the death of either parent, are still spoken of, though now seldom, if ever, practised. As descent was in the mother's line, at her death both children and personal effects were transmitted to the nearest of the mother's totemic kin, while at the death of the father his personal property was divided among his relatives or the people of his totem.[1]

It is obvious that the reason why Hoffman here cites no authority is because he is giving the results of his own personal inquiry and observation. They confirm the former prevalence of maternal descent; and it is hardly fair to ignore them, unless it can be shown that he made insufficient investigations, or none at all. Morgan, however, does quote an explicit statement to the same effect, or even stronger, made to him in 1859 by Antoine Gookie, a member of the tribe. It runs:

> If I should die, my brothers and maternal uncles would rob my wife and children of my property. We now expect that our children will inherit our effects, but there is no certainty of it. *The old law gives my property to my nearest kindred, who are not my children, but my brothers and sisters and maternal uncles.*[2]

In the face of this it is impossible to contend that there is no substantial evidence of matrilineal organization among the Menomini. Dr. Swanton's craving for an authority is gratified.

The Sauk and Fox are two tribes that under pressure of misfortune, have many years ago become more or less amalgamated,

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[1] *Fourteenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 43.

[2] Morgan, p. 170. It is curious that Dr. Swanton cites this very page as one of the authorities (the other being Hoffman), for his statement that the Menomini were patrilineal—which Morgan does not say. On the contrary, he quotes Gookie to show that "until a recent period descent was in the female line." What it may be now he leaves unsaid.

and are now frequently known collectively as Musquakie. When visited by Carver they were two distinct but adjacent tribes, whose chief villages were on the Wisconsin river. Presumably they may be included in his general statement (already quoted) of the maternal descent of the Indians. However, Dr. Swanton is correct in enumerating them (from Morgan) in his list of Algonkian tribes now patrilineal. For an English reader the most accessible account of the tribe is Miss Mary A. Owen's *Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians*, the fruit of many years' intimate converse with this ill-used people. It has lately been criticized by Dr. Truman Michelson, with just that little touch of acerbity which naturally characterizes the professional, when an amateur dares to intrude on his domain. Let us see what his criticisms are on the subject now under discussion. He begins by saying: "We are told that descent originally was in the female line, but has changed to the male line."[1] Miss Owen might have said so, I think, with propriety; but Dr. Michelson must have sharper eyes than mine, if he has discovered the place where she has. What I have found is this: In describing the government of the tribe, she says:

> Its head is an hereditary chief of the Eagle clan. . . . The descent of the headship is from father to son, though, as tribal history attests, there was a time when the inheritance passed over a man's children to his sister's oldest son, or if he had no nephew on the female side, to his brother of the same mother, or if he had no brother of the same mother, to his mother's sister's son.[2]

If Dr. Michelson holds that this is evidence of a general change of descent from the maternal to the paternal side, so far I am with him; but he differs from other American anthropologists, as we have seen. In any case he does not directly contest the effect of the tribal traditions. He proceeds:

> The reviewer has not found a single pedigree of full-bloods to substantiate this. On the contrary, the testimony of all informants (one was born approximately in 1826) is opposed to this. (Compare also Forsyth in Blair's *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes Region*, vol. II, p. 210.)

I have no access to Blair's work, and cannot say, therefore, what it may contain. But it appears that Dr. Michelson rests his case on

[1] *Current Anthropological Literature*, vol. II (1913), p. 235.

[2] Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

the pedigrees he has obtained. In the collection of pedigrees there are many pitfalls. Whether these have been successfully avoided, and how far back the pedigrees go, we do not learn. Since boys marry at sixteen or seventeen, the pedigrees, though comprising five or six generations, may not go back in time much more than a century. That may be too short to afford any really conclusive evidence against the change. There seems to be, moreover, a special difficulty in getting information from the people about their clan-organization and their pedigrees. Dr. Michelson refers to this more than once:[1] it is evidently serious. For these reasons I am, as at present advised, not inclined to put great weight on the pedigrees.

When a baby is born, as soon as the father has inspected it and gone away, it is named. The name "must indicate its father's clan."[2] Miss Owen does not suggest any alternative possibility. But Dr. Michelson says:

> If the mother was allowed to name the child, the father waiving his rights, it seems that the child acquired certain rights in her clan; the writer has not as yet succeeded in elucidating what rights.[3]

It is curious that the father should waive his right to name the child into his gens, or that the mother should desire him to do so, in the complete absence of a matrilineal tradition. It is still more curious that among the Sauk of Oklahoma, to whom Dr. Michelson also refers, the effect of such a transaction would be that the child would lose some at least of his rights in his father's gens (as to eat at a clan-feast) without acquiring corresponding rights in his mother's gens, though he bore a name belonging to it. Into which of these gentes could he marry?

Since Dr. Michelson affords us no further light, we will seek it from Miss Owen. After describing the wedding ceremonies she adds:

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[1] Michelson, *Current Anthropological Literature*, vol. II, p. 236; *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 15, p. 693.

[2] Owen, p. 64.

[3] *Current Anthropological Literature*, vol. II; *loc. cit.* He also refers to a similar case in which the father was a Winnebago, where two brothers belonged to two distinct clans, in consequence apparently of being named respectively by father and mother.

The young man lives with his wife's people [which looks like a trace of mother-right], but this does not make him or his children of her clan—of her people's clan, that is, for she henceforth belongs to his till death or divorce separates her from him. As for his children, his death or divorce gives the minors to the maternal grandfather's clan; but those who have had the puberty-feast still belong to his.[1]

It is the puberty-rite, therefore, that definitely decides a boy's clan. This bears some resemblance to the custom of the Baganda, already noticed. A boy who has lost his father by death or divorce, we learn elsewhere, becomes, "according to tribal law, the son of his maternal grandfather or uncle."[2] Now this would be impossible in strict father-right. Death or divorce would make no difference to the claim of the father or his clan. On the other hand, in mother-right it would make no difference either: the children would continue to belong to the mother's clan. The law harks back to this state of things, as though the mother's family were reluctant to give up what the most ancient social order secured to them—the offspring of their women. It is, in short, a relic of matrilineal descent.

The social organization of the Blackfoot, says Dr. Clark Wissler,

has changed greatly in the last forty years, and has no doubt undergone a gradual change from a rigid clan system to a loose band organization since these people left the woods to roam on the plains.

Such a change is likely to have affected a large number of tribes among which the clan-organization is not now discoverable. The Blackfoot are divided into three tribes, the Northern Blackfoot, or Siksika, Blood, and Piegan.

Each tribe is composed of bands, each with a head man, or chief. The members of the band look upon themselves as blood-relatives, but discriminate between adopted members and blood-relatives. Marriage is forbidden between members of the band as blood-relatives but not between the members as such. The husband marries into a band and so lives with his wife's people, to whose band the children normally belong.

In Morgan's day the clan-organization had not yet finally disappeared. The clans still existed, but they were for the most part known by other than totemic names.[3] The names look like

[1] Owen, p. 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 122; *cf.* p. 67.

[3] Morgan, p. 171.

nicknames, and Morgan suggests that nicknames may have superseded the original names. The suggestion is worthy of being remembered in connection with other tribes than the Blackfoot; for if it could be substantiated, it would supply the key to many cases which have been relied upon to disprove the universality of totemism among the North American aborigines.[1] The facility with which they coined and adopted nicknames is well known. Once a nickname has obtained general acceptance for the designation of a clan, its original and true name would tend to be forgotten; and in the decay of internal structure, consequent upon a variety of causes—wandering, change of habitat, ruinous wars, amalgamation with other tribes or parts of tribes, and so forth—this tendency would powerfully facilitate the transformation of clans into more loosely compacted bands. In the present example it is interesting to note that the members of a band (excluding adopted members) look upon one another as blood-relatives, just as fellow clansmen do. A man therefore normally marries into another band and goes to live with his wife, as in mother-right, with the natural result, if I interpret Dr. Wissler correctly, that the children are reckoned as related to his wife's band and not to his: they "normally belong" to it. It is true that "the father usually exercises the right of naming the child."[2] But we are not told whether there are names appropriated by the different bands, nor that the effect of a name was to unite the child to the father's band: rather this would seem excluded.

Far longer than Morgan's list of gentes is Mr. George Bird Grinnell's. Here also the appellations of the gentes are overwhelmingly to all appearance nicknames, though the lists by no means agree. Mr. Grinnell, however, concurs with Morgan in describing the Blackfoot gens, "a body of consanguineal kindred in the male line," as exogamous, on the ground that "the members of a gens were all considered as relatives, however remote." But the law is no longer observed.

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[1] *Cf.* Dr. Radin's observations on the names of Winnebago gentes, *Canadian Museum Bulletin*, no. 10 (*Anthropological Series*, no. 5), pp. 6, 10.

[2] Wissler, *Ontario Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905, p. 172.

> Lately, within the last forty or fifty years, it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens, to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes often receive outsiders, who were not related by blood to the gens; and such people or their descendants could marry within the gens. Ancestry became no longer necessary to membership.[1]

He is obviously describing the process found by Dr. Wissler in a form nearer to completion. The totemic stage had now definitely passed away: the organization has been transformed.[2] But the odd thing is, if the Blackfoot had been strictly patrilineal, that the new social order should favor what has been called matrilocal residence, with the consequence that the children belong to the mother's band. Traces of a primitive matrilineal descent are few and uncertain. Nevertheless, there are some things that seem to point in that direction. A bride-price is now usually exacted. But this is a comparatively modern innovation. Mr. Grinnell says:

> I have talked this subject over many times with young men and old men of a number of tribes, and I cannot learn from them, or in any other way, that in primitive times the woman was purchased from her father.[3]

This, though expressed in general terms, is manifestly intended to apply to the Blackfoot. The exaction of a bride-price is not confined to patrilineal peoples; but it is emphasized and attains its greatest extension among them. The patrilineal husband pays not only for exclusive rights of the largest kind over his wife, but also for the ownership of his children. When no bride-price, as distinct from presents made to the wife's relatives, is in the ordinary course required we may reasonably suspect vestiges of mother-right. It is not irrelevant too to draw attention to the punishment for adultery. While for a first offence the husband could cut off the

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[1] Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, pp. 208, 211.

[2] "I cannot discover," says another observer, "that there are any clans or gentes existing among these people, but they have various orders connected with their dances; and those who belong to the order have to imitate the bird or animal whose name they have adopted as their totem." Rev. E. F. Wilson, *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1887), p. 188. The writer means not *totem*, but *badge* of the order, or rather society, which performs the dance. True totemism has gone, but it still influences the ceremonial performances.

[3] Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

offending wife's ears or nose (and this he generally did), when death was to be inflicted, it was not done by him, but by her own brothers or first cousins,[1] as if the offence reflected on their honor, or as if they (as her clansmen) rather than he had the right of life and death over her.

The Chippewa, or Ojibwa, the Ottawa and the Potawatomi were originally one tribe, and probably the same organization prevailed in all three. In two of them, the Chippewa and the Potawatomi, we know it was totemic, patrilineal, and exogamous. So far as I am aware, there is only one piece of evidence pointing to a previous matrilineal condition of the Chippewa. But it is entitled to weight. I give it in Morgan's words:

> An Ojibwa sachem, Ke-we-kons, who died about 1840, at the age of ninety years, when asked by my informant why he did not retire from office and give place to his son, replied that his son could not succeed him; that the right of succession belonged to his nephew, E-kwä-ka-mik, who must have the office. This nephew was a son of one of his sisters.

The statement, to be sure, is secondary evidence; but it is perfectly definite. If it be true, and I know no reason why it should not be, it follows, as Morgan adds,

> that descent anciently, and within a recent period, was in the female line. It does not follow from the form of the statement that the nephew would take by hereditary right, but that he was in the line of succession, and his election was substantially assured.[2]

If the maternal line was in fact the line of succession to the office of sachem, it could hardly have been so, save as part of the matrilineal organization of the tribes which may have continued, as we have seen in other cases, when the ordinary lines of descent were changed. Although we have no such evidence for the Ottawa and Potawatomi, it would seem a fair inference from the fact that they were originally one tribe with the Chippewa, that the same rule of maternal descent originally applied to them.[3] Dr. Swanton

[1] Grinnell, p. 220. The punishment is now often inflicted by the socio-religious society of the All-Comrades.

[2] Morgan, p. 166, note. Assuming that Johnston's statement already quoted (p. 39) holds good for the Ottawa, it points to matrilineal organization, or traces of it, in that tribe.

[3] They all spoke closely related dialects and formed "the Ottawa Confederacy" down to 1767; see Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 203.

sets down the Abnaki, or Abenaki, as a patrilineal people. His authority is Morgan, who perhaps intimates by his form of expression a doubt whether it always was so.[1] It is clear that they are totemic, and that marriage was formerly prohibited within the gens. The late Dr. A. F. Chamberlain, however, says that descent "appears to have been reckoned in the female line."[2] He does not cite his authority on the point; but the statement is probable. The Abnaki belonged to the Eastern Algonkian; and most, if not all, of them were matrilineal. At the present day under white, and particularly missionary, influence their ancient organization has broken down.

Of all these Algonkian tribes the Blackfoot are the best support of Dr. Swanton's skeptical attitude towards the former existence of a matrilineal organization. And I have given some reasons, at all events, for suspecting it even among them. It appears to be beyond direct and definite proof. He is even skeptical of their exogamy. Because Grinnell says that marriages now take place within the gens, he is "inclined to question whether they did not in ancient times as well."[3] I have already quoted Grinnell's statement. It shows the Blackfoot as undergoing a radical change of organization, which Dr. Clark Wissler's account exhibits as more nearly completed. The old social order has from various causes broken down. They are adapting themselves to the new environment by means of a new organization. Both accounts make manifest that it is only persons adopted into the gens, or their descendants, who can marry within the gens: not the old *gentiles*, who are held to be blood-relatives. Dr. Swanton's reading of Grinnell's account has been hasty. Dr. Clark Wissler's was not published when he wrote; consequently he had no opportunity of consulting it.

Finally, on the American continent, let us consider the Kwakiutl. The Kwakiutl are a coastal people of British Columbia, occupying the northern portion of Vancouver island and the mainland oppo-

[1] Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 175.

[2] Archaelogical Report appended to Report of Minister of Education, Ontario (1905), p. 130.

[3] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 7, p. 668.

site. Southward of them are the Nootka and Coast Salish tribes. To the north are the Heiltsuk, the Bellacoola, the Tsimshian, and the Haida. The Tsimshian and the Haida are admittedly "maternally organized." The tribes to the south, on the other hand, except perhaps the Nootka, have paternal descent. The languages spoken are numerous. That of the Kwakiutl belongs to the same stock as that of the Heiltsuk, who seem, in Professor Boas's later writings, to be referred to as "the northern Kwakiutl." Occupying thus a middle position between matrilineal and patrilineal tribes, the Kwakiutl "show," according to Professor Boas, "a peculiar transitional stage."[1] The question is what is the direction of the transition. The British Columbian tribes have been subject to influences of the same kind as those we have already noted affecting the tribes elsewhere on the continent; and probably their social and political organization has undergone corresponding changes. If our investigation of the alleged cases of purely patrilineal descent among the Sioux and Algonkian be of any value, the strong presumption is that the change, if any, among the Kwakiutl must be from matrilineal to some other form of organization. The change suggested from patrilineal to matrilineal organization would be without precedent, not merely on the American continent, but in the world. Their linguistic kinsmen and neighbors, the Heiltsuk, have a totemic system in general agreement with that of their northern neighbors, the Tlingit, the Haida, and the Tsimshian, whereas the (southern) Kwakiutl system is not one of true totemism. Professor Boas concludes from this that the Heiltsuk have adopted the system from these peoples.[2] It may be so; but here again the adoption of a totemic system by a non-totemic people from its neighbors is unparalleled. And even so, they do not appear to have taken over matrilineal descent with it. For if they had, it would have conformed to pattern and been without exception; but as we shall see their matrilineal descent has the appearance of being in decay.

The Bellacoola, who also adjoin the Kwakiutl on the north, belong to the Salish linguistic stock, of which they are the most northerly

[1] Boas, *Report of National Museum* (1895), p. 322.

[2] *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1888), p. 237.

representatives. It is believed that the Salish tribes penetrated British Columbia from the east. They have spread over almost all the southern portion of the country, and across what is now the international boundary into the territory of the United States. Their previous history is unknown. No doubt it was chequered by adventures that, as has been argued above in the case of other aboriginal peoples, have to a very great extent disintegrated their primitive organization. Their present organization is based on the village or settlement, the inhabitants of which look upon one another as more or less related. It is frequently, but not always, exogamous. The upland Salish are as a rule democratic, the chief of the village being little more than *primus inter pares*. But the Coast Salish have developed strongly marked ranks; their society and government are aristocratic. The Bellacoola, however, are organized in exogamic gentes. "The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents."[1]

The Nootka, who adjoin the Kwakiutl on the southwestern side in the island of Vancouver, belong, but remotely to the linguistic stock of the latter. It has been conjectured that they were originally distinct, but that at some early period they were overpowered and partially absorbed by the Kwakiutl, and yet have subsequently pursued their own special course of development.[2] They are organized in gentes or septs, bearing apparently animal crests. The septs differ in rank. Unlike the Salish, they seem to have no relation to the village community: there is no division of territory between them. They are not exogamous. When marriage takes place between members of different septs, "the child belongs to that sept which is considered the nobler."[3]

Professor Boas says:

> The social organization of the Kwakiutl is very difficult to understand. It appears that, in consequence of wars and other events, the number and arrangement of tribes and gentes have undergone considerable changes.[4]

[1] Boas, *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1891), pp. 409, 412.

[2] Horatio Hale, *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1890), p. 554.

[3] Boas, *ibid.*, pp. 584, 595.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 608. Compare Boas, *Report U. S. National Museum* (1895), p. 328 *sqq.*

Among other such events he mentions the formation of a new tribe, the entry of a small tribe into another as a new gens, changes of name of gentes and of tribes: all of frequent occurrence elsewhere. Gentes of various tribes bear the same name. This points to the splitting up of gentes, a conclusion supported by tradition.

> The child does not belong by birth to the gens of his father or mother, but may be made a member of any gens to which his father, mother, grandparents or great-grandparents belonged. Generally each child is made a member of another gens, the reason being prevention of poverty. . . . The child becomes member of a gens by being given a name belonging to that gens. . . . By taking a name belonging to another gens, to which one of his ancestors belonged, a man may become at the same time a member of that gens. Thus chiefs are sometimes members of many gentes, and even of several tribes. One Kwakiutl chief, for instance, belongs to six gentes. The gentes differ in rank. . . .

At festivals presents are made, which

> are not given individually but in bundles, one for each gens. Those who belong to various gentes receive presents as members of each gens. Each man becomes debtor for double the amount of presents he has received, to be returned at convenience. Therefore those who belong to various gentes become as many times debtors as they are members of gentes. When a man dies his grandchild or child generally receives his name. Then the latter becomes responsible for all the debts of the deceased, and the outstanding debts of the deceased become due to him. If the child or grandchild does not take the name, he does not need to pay the debts of the deceased, nor has he a claim upon outstanding debts. Children are generally given the names of deceased relatives, as then all debts become due to them, and they are thus provided for in case the father should die. For the same reason children of one family are made members of various gentes, so as to receive property as members of each gens.[1]

An organization so complicated is obviously not primitive. It is neither patrilineal nor matrilineal. It is the result of a long evolution, in the course of which social kinship has become completely severed from genetic relationship, out of which it grew. Membership of a gens is no longer an affair of nature, a question of parentage: it is a matter of pure and undisguised convention. Such an organization is due to the advancing wealth of the community, and has been devised to secure the continual circulation of property. No wonder that Professor Boas has changed his mind more than

[1] Boas, *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1890), p. 609.

once in the course of his inquiries as to the organization of the Kwakiutl.[1] In fact the organization of the northern Kwakiutl (Heiltsuk) differs from that of the southern. The former approximate to the type of their neighbors, the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, who are divided into two or four clans having animal totems and maternal descent. The northern Kwakiutl have, like their northern neighbors,

> village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent; but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong that from my previous occasional inquiries [says Professor Boas], I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal. Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern [Kwakiutl?] tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this [southern Kwakiutl?] tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes [the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian?], each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[2]

I am by no means sure that I understand this. The present Salish organization is founded not upon the clan, but upon the village community. The Haida and other northern peoples possess both the village community and the clan.

> The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other.[3]

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[1] An analysis of the difficulties and apparent contradictions in the various accounts by Prof. Boas is given by Sir James Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. III, p. 317 *sqq.* I cannot profess to be quite sure of having rightly interpreted them.

[2] Boas, *Jesup Expedition*, vol. I, p. 121.

[3] Boas, *ibid.*

But if among the southern Kwakiutl tribes "each clan is confined to one village," it would seem to follow that there must be a clan for every village, in other words, that the inhabitants of every village must constitute a separate clan, with its own totem, or crest. This brings us back to the simpler and looser organization of the Salish with the addition of the crest and its legend. If on the other hand it means that there may be more than one clan in each village; but that the same clan is not found in more than one village, the number of clans must be many times as great as the number of villages. In that case, how could the village community adopt, under the influence of northern totemism, "a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan?" The clans, it would appear, are all exogamous[1] but not totemic in the proper sense of the term.[2] The crest therefore cannot have become "the totem of the clan."

But further subtleties confront us in the Kwakiutl organization. The members of a clan are divided into nobles and commoners. Rank is acquired by the giving away of property at potlatches; but the number of noblemen is limited. If I rightly interpret Professor Boas a certain number of families are recognized as having in each case a tradition apart from the general clan-tradition. It almost always concerns the acquisition of a manitou, similar to that well known among the Indians on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. It differs, however, in this, that the manitou is not, as with them, acquired by every man for himself. It was acquired once for all by an ancestor, and descends upon only one man at a time, who personates the ancestor and consequently has his rank and privileges. These privileges may be described to be the possession and use of a crest recalling the legend of the ancestor's adventure, the right to membership in certain societies, and the ownership of certain dances connected with the ceremonials of the societies. They are acquired through direct descent (but this is said not to be often operative), by marriage, or by killing the

[1] See however Boas, *Annual Archaeological Report* (1905), Toronto, p. 240.

[2] Boas, *Report U. S. National Museum* (1895), p. 323; *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1888), p. 237.

owner. The usual course is to obtain them by marriage. A bride-price is paid, which includes the privileges and names of the father-in-law. They are then transferred to and vested in the son-in-law, but not for his own benefit. They pass over to his son, or to his successor, whoever he may be. Certain offices connected with the ceremonial of the societies are strictly hereditary in the male line.[1]

If we limit our view to the privileges obtained by marriage, the result is, as Professor Boas observes, a matrilineal descent. But several qualifications must be made. In the first place, it seems to be confined to the nobility. The very existence of a nobility is a departure from the ordinary and probably primitive organization of aboriginal society. It is the result of an evolution dependent upon various causes, the details of which are obscure, but which may be said in general terms to be wars, the adoption of a settled life and the acquisition of wealth. Secondly, descent is in a highly complex condition. A man may be at the same time by this arrangement the inheritor of the privileges conferred (but not owned save in a very limited sense) by his maternal grandfather, and the possessor (in the same limited sense) of ten or a dozen other sets of privileges for the benefit of his sons. For the Kwakiutl are polygamists. With each wife a man obtains the name and privileges transmissible by her father, for the purpose of transmitting them to her son. These things he obtains because he pays for them. But according to the principles of Kwakiutl economy every payment, every gift even, demands a return-payment at an exorbitant rate of interest. In the case of a son-in-law, the first installment of the return-payment is the bride herself; the crest and privileges are conferred later. When the return-payments are all made, the father-in-law has redeemed his daughter, and if her husband desire to keep her he must begin paying over again.[2] Let us suppose him in full possession of the right to transmit the privileges to his son. He must wait for a vacancy in the society into which it is thus possible to introduce him: only when that

[1] Boas, *Report U. S. National Museum* (1895), pp. 323, 334, 358, 431.

[2] Boas, *ibid.*, p. 359.

occurs may the candidate be initiated. Meanwhile a suitor for his daughter may appear and acquire the right, to the exclusion of the son. Nay, even after the son has obtained the privileges which his father had the right to transmit, the latter may change his mind; and when his daughter marries he may transfer them to his son-in-law.[1]

Moreover, the privileges are related largely, if not entirely, to the societies. The societies are in operation only in the winter. Only in the winter are the spirits, or manitous, as we perhaps may call them, present. During that period—that is to say, for half the year—"the social system is completely changed." The clan system is no longer in force. The people are grouped not in clans, but according to the spirits which have initiated them, to the ceremonies or dances bestowed upon them, to the societies to which they belong. Their very names are changed. The social system of the summer has broken down: has ceased to exist, or exists only in a state of suspended animation.[2]

Finally, the privileges are transmitted not only by means of marriage, but equally well by killing the owner. And this may be done either in war or by simple murder. The slayer, like the slayer of the priest of Nemi, succeeds at once to his victim's position.

When we put all these things together, it is evident that we have to do, not with a system of kinship, but with a highly artificial development of the socio-religious structure and the machinery of its perpetuation. For the ceremonies and societies, being instituted by spirits, are in a very real sense sacred. They are more than merely social; they are religious also. At the same time the "dances," or the right to perform or take part in them, are owned by definite persons, denoted by crests or symbols or names, and transmissible in more than one way. There cannot be a question here of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal kinship. Dr. Swanton may be relieved of what is even to him a "curious phenomenon" namely, that of "a loosely organized tribe changing to a gentile and afterward to a clan system."

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 419, 421.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

Apart from the privileges just referred to, the organization of the Kwakiutl is, as we have seen, neither patrilineal nor matrilineal. A child may belong to any clan to which one of his ancestors belonged, at the arbitrary discretion of his parents. All that is necessary is to give him one of the names of the clan. He may even belong to more than one clan at the same time. Still the northern Kwakiutl are predominantly matrilineal, by which I understand that children are usually, but not invariably, given a name of the mother's clan. This looks like matrilineal institutions in decay. It is what we might expect when the maternal reckoning of descent was losing its hold. The southern Kwakiutl, on the other hand, are stated to have "a paternal organization."[1] With an organization so arbitrary as we have seen that of the southern Kwakiutl is, it is difficult to see how this can be. Professor Boas states that "there is no trace left of an inheritance from the wife's brothers," probably meaning the mother's brothers. He is silent about the position and influence of the mother's brother apart from the question of inheritance. He further says that "the young couple do not live with the wife's parents."[2] In writing this he has overlooked the fact that in at least one case known to him the young couple did live with the wife's parents and he elsewhere says that after completion of the payment of the bride-price, "the young man is allowed to live with his wife in his father-in-law's house."[3] At one time, at all events, he held the opinion that "the marriage ceremonies of the Kwakiutl seem to show that originally matriarchate (matrilineal descent?) prevailed also among them"—that is, as well as among the Heiltsuk.[4] I do not know whether he has definitely renounced this opinion.

However these things may be, it need not surprise us if the evidence ultimately showed that the social institutions *immediately* underlying the present anomalous organization were patrilineal, though the customs of the Heiltsuk, or northern Kwakiutl, seem to

[1] Boas, *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1889), p. 828.

[2] Boas, *Report U. S. National Museum*, p. 335.

[3] Boas, *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, (1889) p 838. *Cf. Id., Report of the U. S. National Museum*, (1895) p. 366.

[4] *Report of British Association for Advancement of Science* (1889), p. 829.

indicate the opposite probability. None of the British Columbian peoples has any pretension to be called primitive, least of all the Kwakiutl, despite their innate conservatism and stubbornness. Occupying a central position between the older coastal tribes and the intruding Salish, they have been subjected to influences from the north and the south. Probably they themselves are an intrusive people. In the present state of our knowledge it is perhaps vain to surmise what their original institutions may have been. There is no reason to suppose that they were different from those of other tribes with a similar experience. In such cases as we have already discussed we have found reason to think that they all started from maternal descent. At least we can say with confidence that, while great deference is due to the opinion of so distinguished an authority as Professor Boas, a careful examination does not confirm the suggestion that the Kwakiutl are in a state of transition from patrilineal to matrilineal kinship.

I am not sure whether Dr. Swanton attaches the far-reaching importance that some students do to the various influences tending to modify the social order of the North American tribes, conscious as he is of the complexity of the problem, and the need for its thorough investigation.[1] Yet those influences must have been operative on a great scale for ages throughout the continent. Among some peoples in a lower culture they are less powerful. In Australia, for instance, wholesale migration and the fight for territory are, so far as has been ascertained, unknown. Migration, of course, must once have taken place: the race must once have spread from one center or more, when Australia was first populated. But that was long ages ago; and no traditions of it remain. The total number of inhabitants was always small. The wars are confined to petty raids. Each tribe has its foraging grounds; the boundaries are well known, are transgressed, if ever, only for an isolated hunt, and trespasses are promptly resented. The consequence is that changes are slow. They are effected by the peaceful penetration of ideas, rather than by the violent means of more restless and virile races. This is in strong contrast with the history of the

[1] *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), vol. 7, p. 672.

North American Indians. Long and bloody wars, feuds perpetuated from generation to generation, wiping out whole tribes or banishing them from their ancestral seats—thus setting up further movements, extending possibly to remote parts of the continent—leagues, incorporation of the remnants of one tribe by another, amalgamation of two or more weak tribes for the purposes of defence against their enemies—all these have been characteristic of aboriginal history since the Discovery. The process has been immensely accelerated not merely by the pressure of European colonization, but by the introduction of firearms, horses, and articles of use or ornament, and of European ideas, by missionaries and traders, and more recently and decisively by Government intervention. It is difficult to measure the effect on the original social organization. I do not want to exaggerate it; but it must have been enormous. It does not surprise me therefore to read of tribes among which few or no remnants of totemic culture, exogamy, mother-right, or the clan-system exist. Nor, in these circumstances, can I draw the inference that they never did exist, as they existed among the more settled peoples of the east and south.

For these reasons I plead for a reconsideration, on the part especially of American anthropologists, of the North American facts. On this great continent we find a large part of a comparatively homogeneous race organized on the basis of exogamy and matrilineal descent. I venture to think that a presumption arises that other and contiguous parts of the same race had once a similar organization, whether it may now be easily discoverable or not. How Dr. Swanton's alternative conjecture—that patrilineal descent was evolved directly from the hypothetical looser stage, rather than indirectly through matrilineal descent—is reached I do not know, as yet it has not been my lot to read any statement of the evidence. We need not here consider in detail the systems of relationship of the North American tribes. It is pertinent, however, to observe that they betray a remarkable resemblance to one another. Their resemblances amount to an essential identity: they are all derived from one common source. As Morgan puts it:

this system of relationship in its radical characteristics, existed in the original stock, from which these several stocks were mediately or immediately derived; and it was transmitted to each, and to their several subdivisions, with the streams of the blood.[1]

But this could hardly have happened if the kinship organizations had been separately evolved, as they must have been by Dr. Swanton's conjecture, after the various tribes had parted from the parent stock. In such a case we should have expected to find widely divergent systems of relationship with no necessary connection traceable between them.

On the other hand, at least as regards both Algonkian and Sioux, I have brought forward some facts which seem to be best explained on the supposition that a number of tribes, not now found in the matrilineal stage, have passed through it. And I suggest that where we can recover the evidence, both within and beyond those two great stocks, and carefully sift it, other tribes may probably be found to have passed through it too.

[1] Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, p. 497.

III

The scientific world was startled a few years ago by the publication of the researches of Professor Baldwin Spencer and his colleague Mr. F. J. Gillen among the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia. The existence of a people who did not understand the mechanism of human generation was revealed, and with it a type of totemism and a social organization hitherto unknown. The Australian race, probably itself a compound of two different peoples, has been shut off for many ages from intercourse with the outside world. Some contact, indeed, there has been in the extreme north with Malays, but so little and intermittent that it has affected neither the blood nor the language and the institutions of the natives.[1] Other contact has been asserted on the eastern coast. Such contact, though possible, remains as yet without adequate proof.

The general conditions in which the Australian peoples live have already been described by way of contrast with those of the North American aborigines. The tribes of Central Australia inhabit a barren land; once better watered and doubtless more fertile, it has in course of ages gradually dried up, until it has become a steppe-country. Rain falls rarely and at uncertain intervals. When it does so, sometimes after a period to be measured rather by years than by months, an outburst of vegetation is the result. For a short time the river-beds are full and the wilderness blossoms as a rose. But the rivers lose themselves in sand; the rain stops; and after a brief period of production flowers wither and fall, the wild fruits perish, nature returns to her slumber, and the earth resumes her old aridity. Amid this uninviting landscape, a few naked tribes maintain a precarious existence by the help of the emu, the kangaroo and some smaller marsupials, the lizard, the witchetty grub, and various insects and bulbs and seeds of plants that manage to find moisture enough for growth about the sparse water-holes in the

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), p. 17; Spencer, *Native Tribes of Northern Australia* (1914), p. 8.

river-beds and other hollows. Scorched by day and chilled by the frosty night, the aborigines have never learned the art of clothing themselves in the furs of the animals they chase for food. Their camps are made of the rudest shelters known to man, often nothing more than a wind-break or lean-to of shrubs, just sufficient to shield the occupants from the prevailing wind. Partly perhaps because of these miserable externals, they have been delineated as the lowest and the most primitive savages on the Australian continent, if not in the world. In their institutions we have been supposed to find the most perfect survival now extant of the primeval constitution of human society.

Yet there are reasons for doubting the accuracy of this opinion; nor do the distinguished explorers to whom we are indebted for making known to the world these tribes commit themselves to it. It is true the tribes in question are unacquainted with the physical relation between father and child. They suppose that pregnancy is caused by the entry of a spirit, or a germ, into the mother's body as she passes a place haunted by such seeds of life, or eats something capable of conveying it, or sees an animal which is really a supernatural power missioned for the purpose. In this crudity they are not quite singular.[1] Out of it they have evolved an elaborate scheme of reincarnation, which accounts for the continuity of the tribe by the constant reappearance of deceased members. In spite of this ignorance the child is, for some purposes at all events, reckoned as the child of the mother's husband,

The totemism of the Arunta is of a peculiar type. The child does not necessarily belong to either its father's or its mother's totem-clan. Properly speaking, there is no totem-clan; there is only a totem-group. The child usually belongs to the group to which the deceased of whom he is supposed to be the reincarnation belonged. The totem-group has a magico-religious function, for which it may be said its existence is perpetuated, namely, to provide

[1] See my *Primitive Paternity*, especially II, p. 274 *sqq.*, for cases, both in Australia and elsewhere, of ignorance of paternity. More recently Prof. Baldwin Spencer has made special inquiries in the Northern Territory with the result of finding a similar ignorance there (Spencer, *Northern Territory*, p. 23 *sqq.*). Wm. Bates, Bishop Frodsham and others have found it in other parts of the island continent.

by the performance of certain ceremonies for the multiplication and the prosperity of the totem, and thereby, in so far as the totem species is necessary for the maintenance of human life, to assist in continuing the race. There are some analogies between it and the cultural societies of the northwestern tribes of America.

Among the Arunta the totem has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Man and wife may equally well be of the same or different totems. The regulation of marriage is provided for by the institution of marriage-classes. Marriage-classes are known over a great part of Australia, but among the central tribes they have attained their greatest complexity. In their simpler forms they appear as two exogamous phratries, between which the totems of a tribe are shared. The tribes so divided usually, but not quite invariably, follow maternal descent: we shall deal with the exceptions later. In their next form the marriage classes are in a measure independent of the totems. The tribe is divided into two exogamous classes, and each of the classes again into two sub-classes. If the rule of descent be male, the child belongs to the class of the father, but not to his sub-class. He belongs instead to the complementary sub-class. If the rule of descent be female, the child belongs to the mother's class and to the complementary sub-class, not to the mother's own sub-class. Where totemism is in force the totems are divided between the two exogamous matrimonial classes or moieties. The child then, according to the rule of descent whether male or female, takes its parent's totem, but not that parent's matrimonial sub-class. So far as our information goes with a few possible exceptions, all the tribes having this organization also follow female descent. The contrary is the case when we come to the tribes of Central Australia. There we find the matrimonial classes have grown to four. The original exogamous division is still recognized with its sub-classes; but each of these sub-classes has again subdivided, thus making eight exogamous groups in all. Each of the eight has one, and only one, group into which its numbers can marry in the ordinary course. There are thus (*a*) the two primary classes, or moieties, (*b*) four secondary classes, each consisting of one of the sub-classes of the original

moiety, (*c*) eight tertiary or sub-classes, each consisting of one of the sub-classes of the secondary classes. The children belong to the (secondary) class of the father, for descent is invariably in the male line, and to the complementary tertiary or sub-class, not to the father's own tertiary or sub-class. Among the Warramunga, northward from the Arunta, the two primary classes or moieties occupy two distinct districts of the country. The totems are divided between them, the totem-clans of one moiety occupying the one district, and the totem clans of the other moiety occupying the other district. This arrangement is facilitated by the Australian rule that the wife goes to reside at her husband's camp; and the Warramunga children take their father's totem. Among the Arunta we have seen (the statement is true also of their immediate neighbors, the Kaitish), the totem is not inherited; the child is assigned to a totem-group according to the ancestor of whom he is supposed to be the reincarnation. Two results follow from this. Firstly, the totem-group is not, as among the Warramunga and more northerly tribes, exogamous: connubial rights are not determined by the totem. Secondly, the same totem is found in both of the primary classes or moieties. It is not, however, equally divided between them: the great majority of members of a given totem-group are found in one or the other of the two primary exogamous classes.[1]

It is evident that an organization so complex and artificial must have been the result of a long evolution. The ultimate division of society into eight (a multiple of two) exogamous groups is not fortuitous. The recognition throughout of the two primary classes makes clear the starting point of the evolution. These two primary classes in their simplest manifestation are phratries of totem-clans. In by far the majority of cases, as I have pointed out on an earlier page, the totem-clans thus divided into phratries reckon matrilineal descent. The process by which matrilineal has been

[1] The Australian organization is fully expounded and illustrated in the first volume of Sir James Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*. Whatever reservations may be made with regard to some of his inferences, his chapters dealing with the subject contain the most lucid and critical accounts we have of these very complicated arrangements.

converted into patrilineal descent is not at present clear to us. It may be suggested that the practically universal custom of taking the wife to reside with her husband has been a main factor in it. An Australian tribe is a very loose aggregation of groups of wandering men with their women and children within a certain definite range. Chieftainship is in a rudimentary condition, unstable, dependent upon personal qualities and often hardly recognizable. Each group is allied to its neighbors by community, or repelled by diversity, of language. Its members account themselves, in some vague way apart from the totem-clans, as akin to one another, and they recognize a similar kinship with other groups speaking the same tongue. The group, with its allied groups, considered as a political unit, is thus a body descendible in the male line. They meet from time to time with their fellow tribesmen and friendly neighbors in ceremonial assemblies, and there the affairs in which they are jointly interested are discussed and marriages made. The wife though following her husband, retains her own totem clan, and under matrilineal descent transmits it to her children. But she serves to continue the political body to which her husband belongs. The influence of this state of things in bringing about patrilineal kinship is obvious. If, as might very well happen, all the men in a given local group belonged to one totem-clan, while the women belonged to various clans, the children would all be children of the men of that one totem-clan. The fathers wielding authority over their respective children and claiming them in some sense as their property (being the production of their wives)—even if physical paternity were not understood, moreover, looking to their sons at any rate to continue the local group—would naturally desire a closer tie than the indefinite kinship of the tribe by reckoning them in their totem-clan. In these circumstances the wonder is not that male kinship is found, but that it has not more thoroughly and widely prevailed. Nor is it easy to see how female kinship—matrilineal descent—could ever have come into existence, unless it were a part of the primitive inheritance of the race.

Whatever may have been the genesis of the marriage-classes, there can be little doubt that they were preceded by a totemic

organization. It is interesting to note that wherever we can recover the meaning of the names for the two primary moieties they are the names of animals.[1] This points to totemism. And the fact that the totem clans are as a rule divided between the moieties confirms the conjecture that in some way or other they have been developed from totemism. Among the Arunta and Kaitish, as we already know, the totem-clans are not so divided. In fact there are no totem-clans; instead, there are totem-groups recruited by assigning the newborn children to one or other according to the ancestor reincarnated. The remarkable fact is that these totem-groups are distributed unequally between the primary moieties, one moiety containing a noticeably larger proportion of certain totems than the other, often nearly all of them. This means that the present social system, far from being primitive is of recent date, and that it has sprung from an organization in which the totem-groups were true clans, and were each of them confined to one of the primary moieties or phratries, as in the ordinary totemic institutions of the continent. For if the present system were of old standing—if it were what may be described as primitive—it is mathematically certain that, independently of special circumstances (of which we know nothing) affecting the chances, each totem-group would be divided between the two moieties in shares approximately equal. The conclusion is that totemism is not primitive, in the form in which it now obtains in the Arunta, but is, like the eight-class marriage regulations, the result of evolution. It is totemism rather decadent than embryonic.

This conclusion is confirmed by consideration of the ceremonies performed by the totem-groups or clans. In the Warramunga and other north-central tribes, they are pantomimic representations of the deeds of the totemic ancestors. These sacred dramas are performed in a regular series. They carry on the totemic legend in the sequence in which the events are believed to have occurred, "and occupy a very considerable amount of time"—days or even

[1] Lang, *The Secret of the Totem*, p. 180 *sqq.*; Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, p. 162. Mr. Thomas used the word phratry to designate each of the two primary classes (See p. 159). *Cf.* as to the phratry names, Mathew, *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, vol. XI, p. 165 *sqq.*

weeks, we gather. They belong to the descendants of the ancestors concerned, and no one else has the right to perform them. Among these tribes the totem-groups are true clans. But when we come southward to the Kaitish and Arunta, where the totem groups are not true clans, the ceremonies assume a different character. They are no longer performed in a definite series. They are not sacred dramas, carrying on the story from scene to scene in regular progression. Single scenes may be performed from time to time, but they are subordinate; they are interpolated between other ceremonies. The main object of the performances is avowedly magical, to effect the increase and prosperity of the totem; and prominent among them is a mimetic procedure, at the end of which, if the totemic species be eatable, the performers solemnly taste a little of it, as if they were joining in a sacred communion. Without the tasting the ceremony would be incomplete and ineffectual. Afterwards, although the food in question is not absolutely forbidden to them they may only eat of it sparingly; very scrupulous members of the group do not eat of it at all; while to the members of the other totem-groups it is free and unlimited. Among the Warramunga, however, as generally among totemic peoples, the members of the totem-clan are absolutely forbidden to eat their totem, or if an animal to kill it. They are regarded as responsible for its increase. Apparently the mere performance of the sacred drama is intended to secure this. Other magical ceremonies are indeed performed—in one case by a woman—but they do not seem very frequent or very closely connected with the ancestral story, though their performance has the same object of increasing the food supply.[1]

Now here, I submit, the Warramunga are at an earlier stage in the development of the ceremonies than the Arunta. The totem-clans into which they are divided are fully sensible of the organic connection between the scenes of their sacred history, and of the due order in which they follow. They scrupulously retain this order, performing the entire series. It would seem as if the Arunta had gotten tired of this lengthy and roundabout method of secur-

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Central Tribes*, p. 167; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 291, 297, 309, 311, 317, 164, 166.

ing the multiplication of the totem. Instead they perform a directly mimetic piece of magic, seasoning it at times with a more or less relevant piece of sacred history. It is hard to suppose that the reverse is the order of evolution. A more directly expressive ceremony once adopted would not be discarded for one less obvious and explicit. Evolving, as the pantomimic ceremonies probably did, out of play-activities, they would have been performed long before any utilitarian object was attributed to them. The practice once begun would be continued with a vague belief that it was right, it was following the customs of their ancestors. Only gradually, and because of the duty of following ancestral custom, would it come to be held that it was necessary to the well-being of the clan or the tribe. Under the influence of this view, or perhaps parallel with it, there would be a constant elaboration and expansion of the performances. When at last the multiplication of the totem-species, or the procuring of food or grain, emerged as their object, it would come into competition with a simpler and more expressive procedure for the same purpose. The pent-up emotion would be more rapidly discharged by a mimicry of the expected result, a make-believe, the like of which is employed in magical operations all over the world. The predominance of such a procedure (independent in its origin, but equally archaic) would be assured, if it were accompanied by a change in the position and constitution of the totem-group, consequent on the working out and the adoption of the highly complex theory of reincarnation.

The Urabunna tribe on the south of the Arunta is organized much more simply than the latter. It is matrilineal, and its totem-clans are divided between two phratries. It also possesses sacred ceremonies similar to what are called *Intichiuma* by the Arunta. But both the ceremonies, and apparently the sacred story, are less developed and elaborate than those of the Arunta and Warramunga. The Mara, Anula and other tribes of the coastal area to the north are paternally organized. They are less familiar with these ceremonies. Their country is comparatively well-watered and wooded. The explorers say:

> We do not find that it is in any way obligatory for the head man of the

totem to perform ceremonies for the increase of the totemic animal or plant, the idea being that this will take place without the intervention of any magic on their part. At the same time, they can, if they care to do so, secure the increase by magic.

Accordingly the ceremonies described (if fair specimens, as no doubt they are) savor little of totemism.[1] All this is quite in harmony with the hypothesis that the Arunta present not the least developed organization, but that which is furthest away from primitive totemism. Their totemic institutions have broken down. Maternal kinship has gone. Such relics of the system of paternal kinship as exist seem to do so only for the purpose of the matrimonial regulations.

The barbarous and revolting cruelty of the initiation ceremonies of boys and girls is not primitive. Barbarous cruelty is not an accompaniment of the lowest savagery. The Ashanti and the people of Dahomey whose bloody rites were a byword were far above the lowest savagery. The Aztecs were a comparatively civilized people. Even the Germans have a *Kultur* of their own. The meaning of the mutilations inflicted on the Arunta youth is still to be sought. Whatever it may have been, the rites as now practised were evolved from simpler rites. In their extreme form, these cruel rites are said to extend from the great Australian Bight to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and from some of the western districts of Queensland draining into Lake Eyre, right across the deserts of West Australia, but not, as far as our information goes, quite to the coast, save perhaps at the northwestern portion of the area. They are unknown with this exception along the western coast; they are also unknown in the extreme north and throughout what is now the state of Victoria, the whole of New South Wales except the northwestern corner, and the greater part of the state of Queensland. In the northern portion of their area they are almost entirely confined to the upland districts and to tribes in which the descent is patrilineal. One group of tribes only having matrilineal descent, comprising the Mudburra, Waduman, Ngainman, and Bilianara, practises the rites in their usual cruel form. The group is sur-

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 283, 316, 311, 318.

rounded by tribes of paternal descent among which the same rites are found.[1] From the distribution of the tribes practising the rites in question, so far as is known, it is probable that the rites have spread from the interior, and that in two distinct waves. The tribes of the extreme north do indeed practise initiation rites. But among them these rites are mild; they do not include any sort of mutilation—not even the knocking out of a tooth, as practised on the other side of the continent; though they nevertheless erect a stringent barrier between childhood and adult life, as elsewhere. Between the most northerly tribes and those practising the most cruel rites is a margin of tribes whose rites involve circumcision, but which inflict no further mutilation: they have undergone the influence of the first wave from the interior, but the second has not yet reached them. It is moreover not a little significant that male descent is only found among the tribes which have adopted the central rites. An exception must perhaps be made in favor of the Larakia, the tribe about Port Darwin. If so, it may be conjectured that patrilineal descent (but not circumcision) has spread to them from their neighbors, the Worgait and the Wulwullam. The information however seems to rest upon the evidence of a single informant. We are not told who he was, or what his qualifications were; and Professor Spencer says expressly: "It is practically too late to study the totemic systems among tribes such as the Larakia, whose members have been for long in contact with [European] settlements." All that he could learn was, "that the word for totem was *Unga*, that originally every individual belonged to a totemic group, that a man of one (totem) could not marry a woman of the same, and that the children took the totemic name of the father." These three tribes, Larakia, Worgait, and Wulwullam are bisected into phratries, and the totem groups and clans are exclusively in one or the other.[2]

[1] Curr, *Australian Races*, p. 74, and map in vol. IV; Spencer, *Northern Territory*, p. 90. I am doubtful about the accuracy of Curr's list; it does not always agree with his own detailed account of the tribes.

[2] Spencer, *Northern Territory*, pp. 14, 90, 179, 204. The same difficulty is found in ascertaining the institutions of the Wulwullam, the Warrai and probably the Worgait (*Ibid.*, pp. 199, 204). The same caution must therefore be observed in relying on the information.

On the other hand, in the Mudburra group of tribes, before referred to, the same totem-clans are found in both the matrimonial divisions of the tribe. For though the totems descend in the female line, and are strictly exogamous, the marriage-classes descend in the male line.[1] The elaboration of matrimonial regulation has again divided the primary marriage-classes into four secondary classes. It is obvious that the arrangement is a compromise, that the marriage regulations have been the subject of evolution, and that the patrilineal descent of the marriage-clan has been superimposed on the preexisting matrilineal descent of the totem-clan. The custom of taking the wife to live with the husband would render the change of descent of the totem-clan from the male to the female line wildly improbable, especially since the descent of the marriage-clan remained in the male line. The names of the primary intermarrying-classes, or moieties have been lost, while those of the secondary classes are preserved. The organization was probably accepted under the influence of neighboring tribes. A comparison of the names of the secondary classes with those of their neighbors and of the central tribes given by Professor Spencer,[2] can leave no doubt on the mind that the system of the marriage-classes of the northern tribes has spread from the center. The many similarities of the nomenclature are otherwise inexplicable. Seeing that the cruel initiation rites are found together with the advanced form of the matrimonial regulations in this group and the immediately adjacent tribes, it is likely that the rites were taken over at the same time and under the same influence. Further south in West Australia there are tribes in the names of whose marriage-classes similarities with those of the Arunta may be traced.[3] Although the fully developed rites have not yet been ascertained to be practised among them, and it is not definitely known whether male descent prevails among all of them, it is probable that they have acquired the marriage-classes, rites, and male descent from the central tribes.

[1] Spencer, *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 195, 199.

[2] *Cf.* Spencer, *Northern Territory*, pp. 55–59; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 100–101.

[3] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I, 567 *sqq.*

We are indebted to Professor Spencer for all we know of the tribes in the northern district of Australia west of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Valuable as his book is, it is unfortunate that he had opportunity of learning but little of the tribes who practise the milder rites of initiation. Further inquiry as to these is highly desirable. Bearing in mind the limitations of our information, we may say that, with the possible exception of the Larakia, in none of them does the totem descend in the male line. The Kakadu on the coast between the East Alligator and South Alligator rivers are, as Professor Spencer says, much modified. The doctrine of reincarnation has been received among them in somewhat the same form as among the central tribes. The result is that the totem is not inherited in the male or the female line. But, contrary to the case of the Arunta, the child is not necessarily of the totem-group of the ancestor whom he reincarnates. His totem is the subject of a special revelation, and thus quite arbitrary. It has nothing to do with marriage. How kinship is reckoned we are not told. A man marries a woman of the generation directly above his own, who not being his own mother stands to him in the relation, according to the classificatory system of kinship, of father's wife or mother's brother's wife. She must belong to a different local group than his own, and the marriage is arranged by her brothers.[1] Here perhaps we may discern a faint trace of matrilineal kinship. The exchange of sisters, in which connubial practice to a great extent rests in Australia, can hardly apply in this tribe, since the bride's brothers must be already married, and their wives must belong to the generation of the bridegroom's grandmother. The remaining tribes reckon the descent of the totem in the female line.

The boys who in those northern tribes are being prepared for initiation, are sent out on a journey, often lasting for months, to distant camps among strange tribes. They travel in small bands, each boy carrying a wand, the significance of which is well known and enables them to go and come in perfect safety. Sometimes they bring back from the tribes with which they have sojourned,

[1] Spencer, *Northern Territory*, p. 47 *sqq*.

visitors to witness the ceremonies.[1] This custom, it need not be said, enables the youth to become acquainted with the doings and modes of thought of other tribes. It must be a potent means of conveying foreign influence; and we may conjecture that it has played a large part in spreading the institutions and policy of the central tribes. I am informed by Mrs. Daisy Bates, who will I hope shortly publish the results of her inquiries among the native tribes, that the same custom prevails in southwestern Australia. There a range of hills divides the coastal region from the drier interior. The coastal tribes are, or have been until recently all in the matrilineal stage. Beyond the hills the tribes which wander about the steppes of the interior derive descent through the father. The youths from the matrilineal tribes of the coast visiting the interior tribes bring back the ideas they have there picked up, and are not content to return to the old-fashioned ways of their own tribes. Thus a process of "peaceful penetration" is taking place; female kinship is gradually being driven back and ousted in favor of male kinship, under the observer's eyes. Whether the change involves the transmission of the elaborate system of marriage-classes and the cruel rites we have yet to learn.

In inquiring into the social organization of the Australian tribes on the eastern side of the continent we are faced with the difficulty, arising from the colonization and consequent wars of extermination, that most of the tribes in Victoria and coastal districts of South Australia and New South Wales no longer exist. There are still to be found individual natives; but they are for the most part living in institutions under missionary control or government direction. The tribes are broken up, and the survivors in most cases are unable to render any satisfactory account of their ancestral institutions. Dr. Howitt probably did all that was possible to recover and preserve the knowledge. Unfortunately it is fragmentary, and, as he himself recognized, not always to be depended upon. With regard to the interior and to much of Queensland we are in a somewhat better position, in consequence of information from missionaries and others, who have had the opportunity of intimate acquaintance with the natives in something approaching

[1] Spencer, *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 115, 123, 133, 157.

an uncontaminated condition, and in Queensland derived also from the careful inquiries of Mr. W. E. Roth, a medical officer and for sometime Protector of the Aborigines. But even here there are many tribes of which little is known, as there are elsewhere on the continent.

Subject to these limitations of our knowledge, it may be said that all the tribes of the eastern half of the continent reckon descent in the female line, with the exception of a tribe at the mouth of the Annan river in north Queensland, and of a few tribes along the south coast. Howitt indeed attributed male descent to the Kaiabara and Muruburra tribes and some unnamed tribes about Mary borough, in Queensland. But his account rested on inaccurate information. The Rev. J. Mathew, who as a boy was familiar with one of the tribes, and subsequently for six years lived with them and who more recently visited them to make special inquiries, states positively that both the marriage-class and the totem-clan descended through the mother.[1] His evidence must outweigh that of Howitt's informants, of whose qualifications we know nothing. A little further to the south the Chapara and the Turrbal were said by correspondents of Howitt to be without social organization "in classes or totems, the regulation of marriage being by locality and descent of name in the male line." This struck him as so extraordinary that he desired his correspondent to make further investigation; but the report he got was simply a repetition of the former.[2] It is to be deplored that Dr. Howitt was unable to go himself to the spot. Surrounded as the tribes in question are by others which have both class-names and totems and reckon kinship in the female line, the statement of Dr. Howitt's correspondent is improbable. Provisionally at all events it can not be accepted. R. H. Mathews states definitely as the results of his inquiries, that at all events in the Turrbal tribe and those adjacent, " descent is always reckoned on the female side."[3]

[1] Howitt, *S. E. Australia*, pp. 116–118; Mathew, *Two Representative Tribes*, p. 131 *seq.* Mr. Mathew's account is corroborated by personal investigations by Mr. R. H. Mathews, *Man*, vol. XI, p. 100.

[2] Howitt, pp. 135, 136.

[3] R. H. Mathews, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. XXXVII, p. 329.

If Dr. Roth's account of the Annan river tribe given by him to Howitt, be correct it comprises two matrimonial classes and four secondary classes, all having animal names, apparently totemic.[1] This is very unusual. All that can be said about it is that it is the only instance (beside the highly questionable ones above recorded) of a tribe having male descent and only four secondary classes. The organization of the tribes further to the north in the Cape Yorke peninsula is unknown; when they are examined some light may possibly be thrown upon the matter.

But if we turn to the south coast the case is different. From the border of West Australia at the head of the Great Australian Bight to Gippsland we find a number of tribes of divergent characteristics reckoning descent through the father. The evidence as to the Eucla or Yerkla-mining rests on the authority of a correspondent of Howitt. It is fragmentary, and Howitt was unable to make personal inquiries. If correct, it shows the tribes as divided simply into four totems, which are localized (as may very well be with male descent), but no marriage-classes.[2] The Yerkla-mining is one of the tribes reported to practise the central initiation rites in their extreme form.[3] This would seem to indicate influence from the north; yet it is curious that it should have affected the organization of the tribe so little. Proceeding eastward to Yorke's Peninsula, the Narrang-ga tribe had totems and sub-totems, to each of which a different tract of country was assigned, but no marriage-classes. Descent was traced in the paternal line. Marriage was regulated by relationship only, but the totems were disregarded.[4] Crossing Gulf St. Vincent to the country about the mouth and lower reaches of the Murray river, the Narrinyeri are found divided into exogamous totem-clans, not always called by their totem-names, but by the place of their residence. This is probably the result of patrilineal descent. The process, however,

[1] Howitt, pp. 118, 140.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 257.

[3] Curr, vol. I, p. 75.

[4] Howitt, pp. 130, 258. This is one of the tribes to which the central initiation rites are attributed; but Curr's text only speaks of circumcision. (*Cf.* Curr, vol. I, p. 75; vol. II, p. 144). Howitt discredits them (Howitt, p. 671).

is incomplete, inasmuch as some of the clans are called by their totem-names. The totem-clans seem to be divided among sub-totems.[1] The organization of the tribe was thus apparently undergoing transition when further evolution was stayed by European domination.

On the east the Narrinyeri are bordered by tribes having female descent and the totemic organization, namely the Buandik, the Wotjobaluk, with their sub-tribe, the Mukjarawaint, and the Gourn-ditch-mara. All these tribes possessed two marriage-classes, having names which, if not identical, were closely related. To each of the marriage-classes certain totem-clans were assigned, and they were again divided among a number of sub-totems.[2] We seem here to be in the presence of a development of the totemic system. Beyond these tribes was the Kulin nation occupying the Great Dividing Range, to the north as far as the Murray river and eastward to the Ovens river; while south of the range they held the whole country to the sea as far eastward as Gippsland. Their habitat is an extensive and well-watered country. The mountains are covered with thick, often almost impenetrable forest, containing some of the largest trees of the world. West of Melbourne, the range "sinks to a comparatively low ridge with only isolated mountains"; and it may be conjectured that it was by this route that the natives originally reached the seashore. Eastward the mountains were probably impassable in many places before the white man hewed a way across them. At all events they must have formed a substantial barrier between the tribes to the north and those to the south. As might be expected, a variety of tongues was spoken, though they were sufficiently related to enable the tribes speaking them to be classified together as one "nation."[3]

Dr. Howitt says

> Very little has been recorded as to the class organization of this nation; and all that I have been able to preserve has been obtained from the few survivors

[1] Taplin, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 2, 12; Curr, vol. II, pp. 244–246; Howitt, pp. 130, 260.

[2] Howitt, pp. 68, 120–125.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 70–72.

of the Wurunjerri, Thagunworung, and Galgalbaluk tribes, which are now practically extinct.

The two latter tribes are not included in Howitt's list of the tribes; nor do they appear on his map. The tribes he enumerates north of the Great Dividing Range are, however, stated to speak the Thagunworung language; hence probably there was a tribe of this name somewhere in that part of the national territory. He goes on:

> As to the other tribes of the nation, all that I can say is that they had the two class names, and that no totems were known to my informants other than Thara, the small hawk.

This is assigned to one of the two classes of the Wurunjerri tribe, namely, that of Bunjil, the Eagle-hawk; the other class, Waang, the crow, having no totem known to Howitt's informants.

> The class names Bunjil and Waang are common to all with slight variation; for instance, with the Jajaurung the word Wrepil replaces Bunjil, both meaning Eagle-hawk. . . . All these tribes, as far as I have been able to ascertain, had descent through the male line; but in the northern tribes, as for instance the Bangerang, the people who were respectively Bunjil and Waang were scattered over the tribal country in the same manner as, for instance, the Krokitch and Gamutch people [two marriage-classes], of the Wotjo nation. In the southern tribes, however, such as the Wurunjerri and the Bunurong, the Bunjil and Waang people were segregated into separate localities. In this they resembled the Narrang-ga and the Narrinyeri.[1]

We are led to infer that the tribes to the north of the range were, like the Wotjobaluk, matrilineal, while those south of the range were patrilineal; otherwise it is difficult to account for the different distribution of the class-names.

Howitt proceeds to show the distribution among the southern tribes by means of a table, which is obviously defective. It omits a not unimportant tribe, the Wudthaurung, altogether from the list. It shows the whole of the Wurunjerri tribe, inhabiting the Yarra river watershed, as entirely composed of members of the Waang class, whereas Bunjil had already been given as one of the marriage-classes of the tribe, and the only totem-group known was comprised in that class. It also shows the Bunurong tribe as entirely composed of the Bunjil class. The Bunurong peopled the sea

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

coast from the Werribee river, a few miles west of Melbourne, to Anderson's inlet on the border of Gippsland. The Wurunjerri and the four other tribes enumerated in the table dwelt northward thence to the Great Dividing Range. All these tribes are stated to be exclusively composed of the Waang class. But since we know that this was not correct for the Wurunjerri,[1] it is quite probable that it may not have been correct for the others. It is unlikely that five contiguous tribes, occupying an extent of country one hundred miles in length and averaging more than thirty miles in width, all belonged to one of the two marriage-classes. A man could not marry within his own locality, by which it seems we must understand his own tribe. Mr. Thomas, Protector of the Aborigines, gave evidence before a committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria that

> between the five nearest tribes of Melbourne there is a kind of confederacy or relationship. Thus the Yarra, Western Port, Geelong, Goulburn, and Devil's River tribes, though continually quarrelling, nevertheless are in a degree united. A Yarra black must get himself a wife, not out of his own tribe but either of the other tribes. In like manner a Goulburn man must get his *lubra* (wife) from the Yarra, Devil's River, Western Port, or Geelong tribe. Thus a kind of social compact is formed against any distant tribe who might intrude upon their country, when all united to expel the intruder.[2]

The native names of the tribes are not given; and it is difficult to identify them all. The Yarra tribe is probably the Wurunjerri. The habitat of the Goulburn and Devil's river tribes was on the north side of the range. The Geelong tribe is perhaps the Wudthaurung. We have, I think, only one example of the actual working of this rule. The usual method of obtaining a wife was by exchange. When a man wanted a wife he exchanged for her another girl, generally a sister or one who ranked as sister in the classificatory system of relationship.

> But this actual exchange of the girl took place only by the authority of the respective fathers, when the assembled old men had decided that the girls were old enough to be married.

Naturally, however, "the brothers of the girl had a voice" in the

[1] That the Wurunjerri comprised men of both classes, see also *ibid.*, p. 336.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 252. This evidence was given in 1858.

arrangements; and Howitt is of the opinion that "we may perhaps recognize in this a trace of maternal descent as well as the exercise of their individual interest." "Each girl would be sent away under the care of her elder brother, who brought back his brother's future wife." In this way, Berak, Howitt's informant and perhaps his sole informant (who belonged to the Waang class of the Wurunjerri) married a girl belonging to the Bunjil class of the Ngurai-ilam-baluk on the Upper Goulburn river beyond the Great Dividing Range, and his sister was married to his wife's brother. These marriages were arranged by the elder brothers of the *respective fathers of the young couples*.[1]

In the fragmentary state of our information we cannot say whether the Kulin nation possessed any other totems than Thara, the small or swamp-hawk. If they did it is strange that Howitt's informants knew of no other; if they did not, the totemic system was in the last stages of decadence in the earlier half of the last century. That it was at least decadent is quite certain from the fact that marriage was regulated by locality. But the locality, if Howitt's information can be trusted, depended upon the marriage-class. Since the statements about the Wurunjerri are inconsistent, it is probable that the statements about the other tribes contained in his table are not to be relied on. It would seem where two or more tribes had interconnubial relations, that both marriage-classes must have been represented in each tribe. That this was in effect the case with regard to the Wurunjerri and the tribes beyond the Great Dividing Range is clear. We may assume then that Howitt's informant either misunderstood the inquiries, or concentrated his mind only on his own case and some others within his immediate ken, and in any case did not communicate the full facts. We conclude, therefore, that some other reason than the want inside the tribe of the complementary marriage-class must have operated to compel the unhappy bachelor to go so far as Protector Thomas represents him doing to fetch a wife. The reason suggested by Protector Thomas may have been operative. In any event, it may be pointed out that the rise in paternal kinship may have been

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

one of the effects of putting such a distance between a woman after marriage and her own tribe. This is an effect that would be accelerated if totemism were already in decay.

Thus, though there is no definite evidence that female descent has preceded male descent among the Kulin, there is evidence that their institutions were undergoing evolution, and such indications of the direction of the changes as there are, point to their having advanced from a totemic and matrilineal stage.

The Kurnai, who spoke a language related to that of the Kulin, may have been part of the same stock as that nation, though they looked upon them as enemies. They inhabited Gippsland, a coastal district two hundred miles long by seventy miles in width, cut off from the interior by the Great Dividing Range. They were organized in five divisions, called "clans" by Howitt, each occupying a separate portion of the country. These again were composed of lesser groups, every one of which had its own locality. Thus the organization looks purely geographical; but, as we shall see, there is reason to think that totemism entered into it also. They had no marriage-classes. The name Bunjil was known to them; but its sole use seems to have been as an honorific prefix to the name of an old or distinguished man. Ngarugal, the crow, was an object of some reverence. It was said to be "the friend of the Kurnai. It was wrong to kill a crow, and doing so, they thought, would bring on stormy weather." Howitt suggests that these names and the use made of them may be evidence of the former existence of marriage-classes corresponding with those of the Kulin. Of totems there was something more than a trace. Every boy received from his father at initiation into manhood, or at about the age of ten years, the name of some animal. He was told: "That is your *thundung,* do not hurt it." Or according to another version, "It will be yours when I am dead." The animal pointed to by the speaker (*thundung* means "elder brother") became the youth's protector, warning him in dreams of coming danger, or in bodily shape assisting him, or being appealed to by song-charms to relieve sickness. Usually on the other hand it is never killed or eaten by those whose *thundung* it is. The *thundung* names became fixed

in definite localities by heredity in the male line. Such a name must not be confused with the secret name given at initiation, "not to be revealed to strangers, or to be mentioned by friends." The latter name seems to have been abandoned in old age for another, which was retained until death. It was a purely personal name; whereas the *thundung* name, we gather, was common to all men of the same descent, and was not secret, nor was it really given at initiation: that was merely the opportunity solemnly to communicate the knowledge of it and instruct the boy in his duties towards the *thundung*. Every girl too had her *bauung* or "elder sister," apparently the same creature as her brother's *thundung*. We have no particulars concerning it, but the knowledge of it was probably revealed to her in the same formal way as to her brother. There can be little doubt that the *thundung* was a totem.[1] We have no evidence of specially totemic ceremonies.

Marriage was regulated by locality. A man might not marry a woman of his own district. But he might not marry a woman from any other district indiscriminately. His choice was limited to the women of certain districts with which there was *connubium*. They often belonged to districts settled by his own division or "clan." Howitt gives a list of districts having *connubium* with one another, as far as he had been able to ascertain them. Indirectly this arrangement had the effect of preventing a man from marrying a woman of the same *thundung* name. The patrilineal descent of the *thundung* would result in the women of his own *thundung* name being congregated in his own district: the women in another district would have another *bauung*. Marriage was effected differently from the ordinary Australian way. The couple eloped, and were only recognized as man and wife after undergoing pursuit and, if caught, punishment by the woman's relatives. Finally the husband took the wife to his own district. Occasionally, however, we are told a man joined the "clan" of his wife and lived in her district. It is not likely that this was a common occurrence, otherwise it would have resulted in mixing up the *thundung* names.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 277, 134, 146, 736, 738.

That it should have happened even occasionally is perhaps an evidence of totemic decadence.[1]

Vestiges of female kinship are hardly to be found. A child is named by the paternal grandfather or grandmother, or in default by the mother's parents; and its name may be that borne by some former member of the mother's family. We are given the instance of a man named Tulaba. When a child he was named Barrumbulk (teal-duck) by his maternal grandfather. This was the name of his mother's deceased brother. As we have seen, it was usual to take a new name at initiation into manhood. When he was initiated he was given by a maternal uncle the name of Tulaba, which was that of a "grand ancestor," possibly one of the *Muk-Kurnai* or eminent men, the forefathers of the Kurnai. In the far past it was believed a great cataclysm occurred, and many of the ancestors of that period (the *Muk-Kurnai*) then turned into various animals. Among them the emu-wren, which was the "elder brother" of every man, and the superb warbler, which was the "elder sister" of every woman (sex-totems, as they have been called, and not to be confounded with the totems before mentioned), are expressly recognized as *Muk-Kurnai*. It seems likely that the various animals regarded as *thundung* may also have been included. We have only a very meagre list of the *thundungs*. It does not pretend to be complete, and we learn that other animals were so reckoned, or were put in the same category as the *Muk-Kurnai*.[2]

The initiation ceremonies were attended by the men of the districts having *connubium* with that where the ceremonies were held. The *Bullawang*, or guardian of a youth about to be initiated, was selected from the local group with which the youth's father intermarried (that is to say, the local *thundung* group of the mother), and was his mother's brother's son, either by blood or according to the classificatory system. The *Bullawang* performed important functions in the ceremonies: he was in charge of his novice until the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 269, 272, 273.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 736, 487, 493, 618n, 630; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I, p. 495. Compare the Alcheringa ancestors of the Arunta.

rites were all performed, which took several days.[1] Elsewhere in Australia the corresponding official usually belongs to the totem-clan or class from which the novice's wife is afterwards taken. It may be that in the persons by whom the names were given, in the descent of personal names from the mother's family, and in the relationship of the *Bullawang* to the novice we have the last faint traces of matrilineal kinship. But no stress can be laid upon such blurred indications.

Lastly the Murring tribes were in possession of a strip of country extending from the Kurnai between the Dividing Range and the sea, in what is now New South Wales, to a distance considerably northward of the present port of Newcastle. Many of them are extinct, and our information concerning their organization and customs is in all cases meagre and fragmentary. Of the tribes north of Sydney we know nothing. South of that point the Yuin seem to have been the most important tribe. They were divided into Guyangal, or South-Yuin, and Kurial, or North-Yuin, and again into shore-dwellers, islanders and mountaineers.[2] Howitt says: "These tribes had only traces of a class organization." This statement seems to apply particularly to the most northerly tribes beyond Sydney to the borders of Queensland. Their organization was probably influenced by, or was that of the Kamilaroi, who had marriage-classes and female descent. Among the Murring tribes, such as the Yuin, there were no class names nor even traces of them. There were totems, and the totem name was inherited from the father. A man might not marry a woman of his totem name. The prohibition was coupled with the further rule that he might not marry a woman of the same locality. As among the adjacent Kurnai, certain localities had *connubium* with one another, and he might only marry a woman of a locality which had *connubium* with his own, Marriages were effected by the exchange of sisters, varied by occasional elopements. A girl seems to have been entirely at the disposal of her father, who alone

[1] Howitt, pp. 511, 622. *Bullawang* was the name of the Australian robin reputed as one of the *Muk-Kurnai*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

arranged her marriage and the exchange to be given for her, though the actual exchange was carried out by her brother with the intended husband, whose sister he took in return.[1]

Howitt says, "the totem was little more than a name," by which he seems to imply that the totemic system of the Yuin was in decay. Exactly what he means it is difficult to discover. The totem name (called Budjan) "was said to be more like Joïa, or magic, than a [personal] name." Evidently the old feeling of sanctity still surrounded it. "It was in one sense a secret name, for with it an enemy might cause injury to its bearer by magic. Thus very few people knew the totem name of others, the name being told to a youth by his father at his initiation." Secrecy in the contemplation of the Blackfellow is sanctity. A man might not kill or eat his totem animal. The totem was "thought to be in some way part of a man," and it warned him of danger. None of these things look like decadence. Perhaps what is meant is that the Yuin had no totemic ceremonies. We are very imperfectly informed about totemic ceremonies on the eastern side of the continent. What is described as "an individual totem"—probably similar to a North American manitou, or guardian spirit—was given by one of the medicinemen to a youth at initiation into manhood. "Sex-totems" like those of the Kurnai, were also known, the bat and the emu-wren being assigned to men, and the tree-creeper to women.[2] These, it is true, are deviations from, or elaborations of, ordinary totemism; and in that sense they may be a sign of decadence. The requirement in marriage, that the consorts must not only be of different totems, but also of different districts, may be regarded as indicating a tendency away from purely totemic institutions.

The Yuin held strong opinions on the subject of paternal descent. Howitt writes: "I have heard it said by the Yuin that the child belongs to the father, because his wife merely takes care of his children for him, and that therefore he can do what he likes

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 261, 262, 263.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 147, 150 (*cf.* 560). Sir James Frazer also understands Howitt to mean that the clan-totems were decadent. (*Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I, p. 490).

with his daughter." If this be a fairly representative view, the physiological knowledge of the Yuin, however imperfect, had advanced beyond that of many Australian tribes. The male descent of the totem is consistent with this opinion. Yet we may question whether they had long adopted it. Among their neighbors, the Kurnai, the result of male kinship was, as we might expect, that the totem clan had become localized. This effect had not been reached among the Yuin, for there were "very numerous totems scattered over the country, as is the case in the tribes with descent in the female line."[1] The localization of the totem clan would take several generations. We may therefore infer that male descent had been adopted too recently for its results in this direction to be fully worked out. The superimposition of local exogamy upon totemic exogamy suggests Kurnai influence.

So far as I am aware these are the only tribes in the east or southeast of Australia, which reckon patrilineal descent. It is noteworthy that they are entirely confined between the coast and the mountains, unless indeed the Kulin tribes north of the Great Dividing Range be included. Though we have no definite information, the distribution of the marriage-classes is, as we have seen, different there from that on the south side of the range, and points to matrilineal descent. "These coast tracts, taken as a whole," says Howitt, "are the best watered and the most fertile parts of Australia, and moreover the richest in animals and plant-food for an aboriginal population." At one time, at all events, he was disposed to connect the social advance, which he attributed to the natives of those districts with the more plentiful supply of food dependent on the greater abundance of water.[2] Others, so far from recognizing in the natives of Victoria and the coast of southern New South Wales a social advance, have regarded them as the most primitive peoples, and have ascribed that condition, especially in the case of the Kurnai, to the fact of their seclusion by the mountains from the more inland districts.

[1] Howitt, pp. 263, 133.

[2] Howitt, *Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. XVIII, p. 33.

The opinion rests on no solid argument. The social system generally dominant in the eastern half of Australia cannot have been evolved from that of the Kurnai, while the converse evolution is far from impossible. There is some slight evidence that matrilineal descent preceded the present social order of the Kurnai. Their totemism is of an aberrant type, and is apparently being submerged by the local regulation of marriage. To the north the Murring tribes, neighbors of the Kurnai, with whom they were in contact, were, as far as we can judge, much influenced by them. Their totemism resembled that of the Kurnai, and like the latter showed signs of yielding before the local marriage regulations. We have reason to think that patrilineal descent was of comparatively recent adoption, probably from the Kurnai. On the other side the Kulin had almost abandoned totemism. There is distinct evidence that it existed and was passing away. Beyond the Great Dividing Range, they may have still been in the matrilineal stage; south of it to the sea descent was reckoned through the father. They preserved the institution of marriage-classes, two in number similar to those of the matrilineal tribes to the west, and combined with it the local regulation of marriages in an exaggerated form.

It is necessary to insist on the fact that our knowledge of all these tribes is imperfect. It is most of all imperfect as to the peoples inhabiting those parts of New South Wales and Victoria which were the first to be settled. Whole tribes have died out; and those that have remained have lost their organization and forgotten the ancient customs. But enough is preserved to show that at the time of the white settlement they were by no means in a primitive condition. They were in effect trending away from totemism, and from the regulation of marriage by classes or moieties, to a purely local regulation. They had ceased to reckon kinship through the mother, and had adopted patrilineal reckoning.

A consideration of the evidence relating to the whole of the Australian race leads to the conclusion that at one period all the tribes were organized on the basis of matrilineal descent. If they had started by reckoning descent through the father, matrilineal kinship would, in their circumstances and owing to their customs,

have been impossible. Whether the dual organization was an original part of the totemic system in Australia we need not here inquire. It is sufficient that it is found throughout the greater part of the continent. The subdivision of each of the two intermarrying moieties into two secondary classes was the next step in the evolution of the social order. In this stage they are found everywhere (subject to a very few possible exceptions) with female descent. The central tribes advanced to male kinship and a further subdivision of the marriage-classes. Along the south central and southeastern coasts evolution took a different route. Male kinship is there associated not with increasing complexity, but with a simplification of social arrangements. Among these tribes the institutions prevalent over the rest of the continent are in decay, sometimes in little more than a vestigial condition, sometimes in aberrant forms. While there is some evidence that there male kinship was preceded by female kinship, in the Northern Territory there is stronger evidence; in western Australia the change is going on before our eyes.

The survey of the two principal areas in which the priority of matrilineal kinship has been challenged is now completed. We have examined wherever it has been possible the social institutions of the tribes having paternal descent, and of which it has been alleged that there is no reason for believing that they ever had anything else. In every case we have found the allegation unwarranted. In most cases we have found more or less distinct evidence of a previous stage of matrilineal organization. Where this evidence has been wanting, as among the Kwakiutl and the southern Kulin, it is at least conclusively shown that they are not in a primitive condition, that they have undergone vicissitudes or been subjected to influences which have resulted in considerable changes, while their neighbors and kinsmen still retain their maternal organization, or traces of it. So important is the result of the inquiry that it is not claiming too much to say that it throws the burden of proof upon the shoulders of those students who deny that female descent has in any particular case preceded the reckoning of kinship exclusively through males.

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THE REINDEER AND ITS DOMESTICATION

BY

BERTHOLD LAUFER

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THE domestication of the reindeer has not yet been satisfactorily expounded. Some interesting though brief essays on the subject have been contributed by scholars engaged in the research of animal domestication,—first of all, by E. Hahn,[1] in his admirable work *Die Haustiere*, whose chapter on the reindeer is the best hitherto written; then follow C. Keller,[2] R. Müller,[3] L. Reinhardt,[4] and M. Hilzheimer.[5] These various contributions are useful as far as they go; but what we miss in them, above all, are the historical and ethnographical points of view, and the exploitation of the abundant material accumulated by ethnographers who have had occasion to study reindeer-breeding tribes at close quarters. The Russian explorers of Siberia occupy here the first place; and it was one of the writer's chief aims to avail himself of their data, as far as this literature is accessible to him. While the observations of ethnographers working in the field are of prime importance, the interpretations of their data must occasionally be subjected to certain modifications, not all ethnographers being sufficiently schooled in the problems of domestication, or familiar with the methods and results of that science. The novel feature of the present investigation lies in the fact that here for the first time early Chinese sources relative to the domesti-

[1] *Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen, eine geographische Studie* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 262–267. Compare the same author's "Die Transporttiere in ihrer Verbreitung und in ihrer Abhängigkeit von geographischen Bedingungen," *Verhandlungen des XII. Deutschen Geographentages in Jena* (1897), pp. 186–187.

[2] *Naturgeschichte der Haustiere* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 198–202; *Stammesgeschichte unserer Haustiere* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 93; also in Kraemer's *Der Mensch und die Erde*, vol. I, p. 257.

[3] *Die geographische Verbreitung der Wirtschaftstiere* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 137–148.

[4] *Kulturgeschichte der Nutztiere* (München, 1912), pp. 228–237.

[5] *Die Haustiere in Abstammung und Entwicklung*, pp. 72–73.

cated reindeer are laid under contribution, and that an effort has been made to determine the origin of the domestication more precisely as to time and space. The writer attempts to answer three questions, as far as this is possible in the present state of science:—When did the primeval domestication originate? Where was the center of it, and how did it propagate from this center to other culture areas? What was the process that brought the primeval domestication about?

At the outset two current popular notions connected with the Old-World reindeer should be banished,—that the reindeer is exclusively an inhabitant of the tundra of northern Europe and Asia, and that it is employed exclusively by the peoples inhabiting the northern littorals of Europe and Asia. The reindeer haunts the woods of high mountainous districts as well, and thrives in the forests of the Ural and Baikal regions. The records referring to the woodland reindeer are much older than those pertaining to the tundra reindeer of the maritime coasts. It will be seen that in all likelihood we have to assume an historical relation between the two varieties; that is to say, the woodland reindeer is the first in point of time that was domesticated, and spread from southern into northern regions, gradually developing into the tundra reindeer through infusion with the blood of wild forms of the tundra. The wild reindeer has the same southern expansion: it abounds in the extensive woods of the governments Vyatka and Perm and in the adjoining northern portion of Kazan, in Russia. Entire herds formerly migrated from the Ural into the afforested region between the Kama and Ufa (56° N. lat.), even as far as the southern woodland boundary line, almost as far as 52° N. lat.[1] The Bashkir hunt the animal along the Ufa under 55° N. lat.

[1] J. F. Brandt, *Zoogeographische und palaeontol. Beiträge* (St. Petersburg, 1867), p. 65. See also A. Nehring, *Ueber Tundren und Steppen der Jetzt- und Vorzeit* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 31, 108. P. S. Pallas (*Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, vol. III, p. 470) reported in 1773, "In the fir-tree woods on the Ufa and throughout the woodlands as far as the Kama, there are, aside from other deer, still many wild reindeer (in Bashkir *yušá*), frequently wandering in large herds, and, judging from the antlers I saw, somewhat smaller than the northern ones."

Historical Notes

The first and most prominent fact about the domesticated reindeer is that it is entirely lacking in aboriginal America (the artificial introduction into Alaska is of very recent date), and represents an exclusive cultural property of the Old World. North America abounds in wild reindeer (known as caribou) and elk or moose; but the native population only hunted these animals, and never made any endeavor to domesticate them. Consequently the Old-World domestication cannot be *a priori* of very ancient date, but was accomplished only at a late time, when the population of America was settled. This consideration will be amply confirmed by the history of the domestication.

Certain it is that the classical authors have left us no account whatever of the domesticated reindeer. The Danish archaeologist G. F. L. Sarauw[1] has made a very interesting study of the information contained in the writings of the ancients in regard to elk and wild reindeer, but there is complete silence as to tamed forms. Hahn[2] is quite right in maintaining that the Greeks were not so unfamiliar with the north of eastern Europe that such a striking phenomenon as the tamed harts should not have been known among them in one form or another, had they existed at the time; but all observations of the ancients strictly refer to wild forms. This state of affairs meets its parallel among the Chinese. They were well acquainted with the host of tribes living in the north and northwest of their country, but in no Chinese author of the pre-Christian era do we meet with a single notice of the reindeer. Only at the end of the fifth century A.D. did tidings of a tame stag, used for drawing sledges and for milking, reach the ears of the Chinese. It is well known that the wild reindeer was among the game hunted by paleolithic man of western Europe. There is no evidence that he ever attempted to domesticate this animal. Its domestication manifestly falls within historical times; and, if so, there must be some way of calculating by historical methods more

[1] "Das Rentier in Europa zu den Zeiten Alexanders und Caesars," published in *Mindeskrift for Japetus Steenstrup* (København, 1913), 34 p., 4°.

[2] *Haustiere*, p. 263.

exactly the *terminus a quo*. The students of domestication have usually regarded that of the reindeer as a comparatively recent event, and as the most recent of all domestications; but their impressions naturally have remained of a somewhat vague character. C. Keller[1] remarks:

> The passage into the state of domesticity cannot have taken place at an early date, since neither specific races have as yet been formed, nor is the submissiveness to man much developed. The herds graze wherever it suits them; and the business of milking is very complex, as the cows behave stubbornly.

L. Reinhardt[2] has expressed the following opinion:

> The reindeer was elevated by man into a domesticated animal at a very late period, and generally is still domesticated very deficiently. The time when this happened can no longer be determined; however, it cannot have taken place much earlier than five hundred years ago.

This figure is far too low, and must be multiplied at least by three, as we have Chinese allusions to the domestic reindeer dating in the fifth century A.D. Even without such historical data, Reinhardt's calculation would hardly be acceptable, as the wide geographical distribution of the reindeer would argue in favor of a much earlier domestication. M. Wilcken's assertion[3] that the domestication of the reindeer took place in prehistoric times misses the mark entirely.

The earliest reference to tame reindeer in western sources is contained in the famous narrative of the Norseman Ohthere, who "said to his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt farthest north of all Northmen." Ohthere, of whom we unfortunately know very little, was born in Haloga (Helge)-land in Norway, and undertook in A.D. 890 several voyages, one of which was from Norway toward the extreme northern coasts. In the course of his travelings he rounded the North Cape, discovered the White Sea, where he reached the south coast of the Kola Peninsula, and became acquainted with the Finn and Biarmians (Beormas) or Permians in the northeast of European Russia. The memorable account of

[1] H. Kraemer, *Der Mensch und die Erde*, vol. I, p. 257.

[2] *Kulturgeschichte der Nutztiere*, p. 232.

[3] *Grundzüge der Naturgeschichte der Haustiere* (2d ed. by J. U. Duerst), (Leipzig, 1905), p. 172.

his expeditions was included by Alfred the Great in his Anglo-Saxon translation of the Hormista of Paulus Orosius.[1] Here we read as follows:

He [Ohthere] was a very rich man in those possessions in which their wealth consists, that is, in wild animals. He still had when he came to the king six hundred tame deer unsold. These deer they call 'reindeer;' six of them were decoy-deer; these are much prized among the Finn, because they capture the wild deer with them. He ranked with the foremost men in the land, though he had not more than twenty cattle, twenty sheep, and twenty swine; and the little that he ploughed he ploughed with horses.[2]

Schlözer[3] and I. A. Sjögren,[4] taking the term "Finn" in Ohthere's narrative in the sense of "Lapp," have advanced the theory that he lived among Lapp and spoke their language,[5] and that it was Lapplanders, who cared for his reindeer purchased from them. This theory is baseless, and we gain nothing from it. Whether Ohthere had obtained his reindeer from Lapp or Finn or Scandinavians, or had captured them himself, his story can prove little or nothing along the line of domestication; at best, it shows the very first stage necessary in reaching this object. All members of the family *Cervidae* may easily be driven into enclosures and kept there indefinitely, for which many examples will be cited hereafter. Ohthere does not state that he made any practical

[1] The original manuscript of Alfred's work, beautifully written, is preserved in the Cottonian collection of manuscripts in the British Museum. It was first published by Daines Barrington under the title, *The Anglo-Saxon Version from the Historian Orosius, by Alfred the Great. Together with an English translation from the Anglo-Saxon* (London, 1773).

[2] J. McCubbin and D. T. Holmes, *Orosian Geography*, p. 8. J. Bosworth, *Description of Europe and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, written in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great*, p. 12, translates: "He had, moreover, when he came to the King, six hundred tame deer of his own breeding." The Anglo-Saxon text of the above passage runs as follows: "Þā dēor hī hātaþ 'hrānas;' Þāra wǣron syx stælhrānas; ðā bēoð swȳðe dȳre mid Finnum, for ðǣm hȳ fōð Þā wildan hrānas mid."

[3] *Allgemeine nordische Geschichte*, p. 445.

[4] *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I, p. 314.

[5] This point is rather doubtful. All that Ohthere himself tells us in point of language amounts to this: "The Permians told him many stories both of their own land and of the lands which were around them, but he did not know how much was truth as he did not see it himself. It seemed to him that the Finn and the Permians spoke nearly the same language." This observation does not lend itself to far-reaching conclusions.

use of his deer. In all probability, it was merely the venture of a sportsman, who had an aesthetic pleasure in the animals, like a park-owner in fallow deer. Ohthere's account stands perfectly isolated: we read no more about tame reindeer during or after his time. Only as late as the fifteenth century do we hear for the first time about domesticated reindeer from Russian sources. If at Ohthere's time the Finn or the Lapp had really possessed the reindeer, we should justly expect to find it mentioned in the *Kalewala;* but this is not the case. The songs of the *Kalewala* know only of the elk and the wild Tarandus.

It is stated by Hahn[1] that, according to Lehrberg, in 1499 the Samoyed, besides dog-sleighs, had reindeer on the backs of which they used to ride. C. Keller[2] has adopted this from him, and the "fact" has finally been popularized in H. Kraemer's *Der Mensch und die Erde.*[3] It is striking, of course, that the Samoyed should have mounted reindeer in 1499, while they never did so at any later time, nor do so at present. In fact, the reindeer is ridden only by the Soyot and Tungus, not, however, by any western tribes.[4] Thus suspicion is ripe that there may be some misunderstanding of the original Russian source on which this deduction is based. Lehrberg's work in the original German is not within my reach,[5] but I have access to a Russian translation of it and to the Russian document on which his data are based. This is reprinted in Shčšeglov's *Chronological Review of Important Data from the History of Siberia,*[6] and relates to the year 1499. In order to

[1] *Haustiere,* p. 265.

[2] *Naturgeschichte der Haustiere,* p. 201.

[3] Vol. 1, p. 257. Here we even read the absurdity that "the oldest accounts of tame reindeer come from Lehrberg, who in 1499 observes that the Samoyed ride on them,"—a complete misunderstanding.

[4] Hahn himself was struck by this anomaly, stating farther on (p. 266) that "this exception would seem doubtful to him until further confirmation were received."

[5] The work of A. C. Lehrberg bears the title *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der aelteren Geschichte Russlands* (St. Petersburg, 1816). An interesting analysis of his researches has been given by Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1824), pp. 116–146.

[6] I. V. Shčšeglov, *Xronologičeski perežen' važn'äišix dannyx iz istorii Sibiri 1032–1882* (Irkutsk, 1883), p. 12, published by the East-Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.

understand these events, it is necessary to premise that Ivan the Great (1462–1505), after destroying the liberty of Novgorod, began the conquest of northern Russia, and in that year the Russians completed the subjugation of what was called by them Yugra; that is, the territory of the Ural Mountains, inhabited by Wogul and other Ugrian tribes, and formerly under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Novgorod, in the documents of which Yugra is mentioned as early as 1264. The expedition of 1499 was conducted under the command of the Prince Semyón Fedorovič Kurbski, Prince Pyotr (Peter) Fedorovič Ušati and Vasili Ivanovič Zabolotski-Bražnik. This enterprise is described in detail in the synchronous Russian documents, the result being given thus:

> The military chiefs (*voyevody*) slew fifty men of the Samoyed[1] on the rock,[2] and captured two hundred reindeer. From this Rock they marched for a week as far as the first town, L'apino,[3] covering altogether 465 *verst* over this territory. Proceeding from L'apino, they met the Yugor princes who came on reindeer from Obdor;[4] but from L'apino the [Russian] military chiefs (*voyevody*) traveled on reindeer; the army, however, on dogs.

This is a literal translation, and in the spirit of the Russian language means that they traveled on sledges drawn by reindeer and dogs respectively. The same verb, *šl'i* ("they went"), is used with the reindeer and with the dogs (*na olen'ax, a rat na sobakax*); and,

[1] The land of the Samoyed, under the name Samoyad', is mentioned as early as 1096 in the chronicle of Nestor as being situated north of Yugra. In 1246 their name is mentioned by Plano Carpini, who styles them "Samogedes," and ascribes to them dog-heads, as the ancient legend of the *κυνοκέφαλοι* was alive in his day. The name may be related to Sameyadna, which the Lapp (in Russian Lop', Lopari) confer on their country.

[2] The Rock (Kamen'), also Rocky Girdle (Kamennyi Poyas), is a designation of the Ural, in accordance with the Ostyak term *keu, kev* ("stone, mountain, Ural"). See B. Munkácsi, *Keleti Szemle*, vol. III (1902), p. 276.

[3] Small place (also L'apina) on the banks of the Sygwa in the district (*okrug*) Berezov, now called Vorulsk. The Sygwa is a side-river of the northern Soswa, which falls into the Ob not far from Berezov.

[4] The original document has the misprint Odor. The question is of Obdor province (*Obdorskaya oblast'*) on the lower Ob. The settlement Obdor is situated not far from the mouth of the Ob. According to A. Castrén, *Reiseerinnerungen aus den Jahren 1838–1844*, p. 279, who has given a very interesting description of the place, this name should be of Syryän origin, meaning "mouth of the Ob." An account of Berezov and Obdorsk is found also in P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, vol. III, pp. 17–24. Reindeer are still kept in this region.

since it cannot be supposed that the soldiers rode astride dogs, it is equally out of the question that riding on reindeer is understood.[1] The Samoyed have nothing whatever to do with this affair; the Russian documents of that period clearly distinguish between Yugra and Samoyed, and the situation is perfectly clear. It was the Yugor (Yugrian, Ugrian) princes (*Yugorskie kn'azi*) who were in possession of reindeer-sledges, in the same manner as their Wogul descendants are at the present time. These were duly captured by their Russian conquerors and placed at the disposal of the commanders on their further inroads into the Ugrian territory, while the soldiers were transported on dog-

[1] The Russian text is by no means ambiguous. If the Russian writer meant to express "riding," he would have used the verb *yäxat' verxom*. The usual question addressed to the winter traveler in Siberia on his arrival is, "In what way did you come?" which is answered by such phrases as, "On horses" (*na lošad'ax* or *kon'ax*), "On dogs" (*na sobakax*), "On reindeer" (*na olen'ax*); and it is perfectly understood that he traveled on a sledge drawn by horses, dogs, or reindeer. In the same manner Avril, *Travels into Divers Parts of Europe and Asia* (London, 1693), p. 161, says in regard to the Samoyed that "they travel upon harts and dogs." The text of Lehrberg (in the Russian translation, p. 14) is quite clear. "Iz L'apina na vstr'äču Russk'im v'äxali Yugorskiye kn'az'ya na olen'ax. L'apino zavoyevano, i ot s'uda voisko pošlo dal'äye, voyevody na olen'ax, a pročie na san'ax, zapr'ažennyx sobakam'i." Lehrberg comments in a note that traveling with dogs was in full swing on the Irtysh as early as 1580, and is still practised in northwestern Siberia, horses not being kept under 62° N. lat.; that formerly also west of the Ural in Perm dogs were employed for transportation, in more ancient times even farther west along the Baltic Sea, as shown by the Esthonian and Finnish phrase for "mile," *penni koorm, penicuorma* (literally, "dog-load"). Karamzín (*Istoriya gosudarstva rossiskago*, St. Petersburg, 1819, vol. VI, p. 286), the eminent Russian historian, has interpreted the document in the same manner by saying, "Each of these princes sat in a long sledge drawn by reindeer. The voyevody of John likewise drove on reindeer (*yäxali na olen'ax*), but the soldiers on dogs (*na sobakax*), holding in their hands fire and sword for the annihilation of the poor inhabitants." Regarding the Russian expedition of 1499 see also Sjögren, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I, p. 309; and Aleksandra Dmitrieva, "Pokorenie ugorskix zemel'i Sibiri," pp. 87 *et seq.*, *Permskaya Starina* (Perm, 1894), no. V. In A. Rambaud's *History of Russia* (Boston, 1886), vol. I, p. 221, this event is thus narrated: "In 1499 the voyevodi of Ustiug, of the Dwina, and of Viatka advanced as far as the Petchora, and built a fortress on the banks of the river. In the depth of winter, in sledges drawn by dogs, they passed the defiles of the Urals, in the teeth of the wind and snow, slew fifty of the Samoyedi, and captured two hundred reindeer; invaded the territory of the Voguli and Ugrians, the Finnish brethren of the Magyars; took forty enclosures of palisades, made fifty princes prisoners, and returned to Moscow, after having reduced this unknown country." Here the transportation on reindeer-sleighs as too unimportant or troublesome to the historian has been passed over in silence,—a curious example of history-writing.

sleighs. Let us hope that " the reindeer-riding Samoyed of 1499 " will thus remain buried never to rise again. The document quoted is of importance, for it shows us that the Uralic Ugrians were acquainted with the domesticated reindeer as a draught animal toward the end of the fifteenth century. In regard to the Samoyed, we can assert on the basis of this account only that reindeer were kept by them.

When Baron Sigismund von Herberstein was ambassador from the Emperor Maximilian to the Grand Prince Vasili Ivanovič of Muscovy in the years 1517 and 1526, he met at the Court of this Prince in Moscow his interpreter, Gregory Istoma, who in 1496 had been sent by the Prince to the Court of King John of Denmark, where he acquired the Latin language. He gave Herberstein an account of his journey, which had taken him over Great Novgorod to the mouths of the Dvina and Potivlo. There the party embarked in four boats, and sailed along the right-hand shore of the ocean; and after accomplishing sixteen miles and crossing a certain gulf, they sailed along the left shore. Leaving the open sea to their right, they came to the people of Finlapeia. Although these people dwell in low cottages, scattered here and there along the seacoast, and lead an almost savage life, Istoma reported, yet they are more gentle in their manners than the wild Laplanders. He stated that they were tributary to the Prince of Muscovy. A voyage of eighty miles, after leaving the land of the Laplanders, brought them to the country of Nortpoden, which was subject to the King of Sweden. The Russians call the country Kaienska Semla; and the people, Kaiemai. After having passed two perilous promontories, they sailed up to the country of the Ditciloppi, who are wild Laplanders, to a place named Dront [Drontheim], two hundred miles north of the Dvina.

They then left their boats and performed the rest of their journey by land, in sledges. He further related that there are herds of deer there, as plentiful as oxen are with us, which are called in the Norwegian language 'rhen.' They are somewhat larger than our stags, and are used by the Laplanders instead of oxen, and in the following manner: they yoke the deer to a carriage made in the form of a fishing-boat, in which the man is bound by his feet lest he should fall out while the deer is at full speed; in his left hand he holds a bridle, to guide the

course of the deer, and in his right a staff, with which to prevent the upsetting of the carriage, if it should happen to lean too much on either side. He stated that, by this mode of travelling, he himself had accomplished twenty miles in one day, and had then let loose the deer; which returned of its own accord to its own master and its accustomed home. Having at length accomplished this journey, they came to Berges [Bergen], a city of Norway, quite in the north, amongst the mountains, and then reached Denmark on horseback.[1]

As Herberstein's narrative is based on the report of Gregory Istoma, whose experience dates back to 1496, we are entitled to say that the Lapp were in the possession of sleigh-drawing reindeer in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala and Metropolitan of Sweden, who died in 1568, published in Rome, 1555, his famous work *Historia de gentium septentrionalium variis conditionibus*,[2] where a somewhat lengthy and fairly correct description of the reindeer of Lapland is given. Certainly he is not the first author, as asserted by Hahn, who told Europeans about the tame reindeer, as Baron von Herberstein preceded him by a generation. Olaus' account is not based on personal experience, but evidently draughted from hearsay. The English naturalist E. Topsell[3] then gave a description based on Olaus, and justly emphasized that the beast was altogether unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans.

It is thus shown that the documentary evidence presented by European history does not mention the domestic reindeer before the latter part of the fifteenth century. I regret not having access to ancient Russian chronicles, especially those of Novgorod and Archangelsk, which might contain facts bearing upon the problem. There is a noteworthy negative evidence presented by the *Kalewala*, the national epic poem of the Finn. Here we have a true picture of the primeval cultural conditions in which the Finn lived prior to their christianization (A.D. 1151), also a description of their

[1] *Notes upon Russia: being a Translation of the Earliest Account of that Country, entitled Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii by the Baron Sigismund von Herberstein*, translated by R. H. Major, vol. II, pp. 105–108, Hakluyt Society.

[2] An English translation appeared in 1658 under the title *Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, and Vandals, and Other Northern Nations.* His description of the reindeer is on p. 176. Those who have not access to this edition may be referred to E. Phipson, *Animal-Lore of Shakespeare's Time*, p. 123, where the passage is extracted.

[3] *Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607), p. 592.

relations to the Lapp. Sledge-driving is most frequently mentioned, but the sledges are always drawn by horses. The wild reindeer was an object of the hunt, but there is not the faintest allusion to reindeer kept in captivity under the control of man. The period of this ancient Finnish culture is difficult to gauge by exact dates, but it is generally admitted that the beginning of this national poetry falls between A.D. 800 and 1000.[1] If we assume that the Lapp adopted the domesticated reindeer from the Samoyed during the eleventh or twelfth century, we shall probably not commit too great an error of calculation.

Before leaving the European field, it should be remembered that the theory of a Scandinavian origin of reindeer domestication has also been propounded. Its main champion was a Norwegian scholar, A. Frijs.[2] According to him, the Lapp of the ninth century were not yet reindeer-nomads, but merely hunters and fishermen, whose only domesticated animal was the dog. The domestication of the reindeer they learned from the Scandinavians. The evidence for this bold statement is based on philological arguments: it is proved by the language of the Lapp, for only the dog has a genuine Lapp name; with the reception of the other domestic animals, the Lapp adopted also their designations; the Lapp has no word for "taming," and has therefore accepted the Scandinavian word for it. It is generally known how fallacious such play with alleged linguistic evidence is; in fact, no serious scholar any longer derives historical conclusions from conditions of language. Frijs evidently traced Lapp *raingo* ("reindeer") to Scandinavian *hreinn*, but there is as good reason to believe that the latter is based on the former. In fact, no lesser scholar than Jacob Grimm[3] regards the Lapp word as the foundation of the Germanic forms (Anglo-Saxon *hrān*, Old Norse *hreinn*, Swedish *ren*, Danish *rensdyr*, German *rein*, *reiner*, *renn*). Be this as it may, neither the one nor the

[1] D. Comparetti, *Kalewala*, p. 280 (authorized translation from the Italian). It is noteworthy also that Tacitus (*Germania*, 46), in his notice of the Fenni, the oldest account of some Finno-Ugrian tribe, makes no mention whatever of deer.

[2] *Globus*, vol. XXII (1872), p. 2, translation of his work *En Sommer i Finmarken, Russisk Lappland og Nordkarelen* (Kristiania, 1871).

[3] *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. VII, col. 2007.

other supposition could prove that the domestication is due to Scandinavians, or to any other nation. It is merely indicative of a fact of language, and nothing else.

In others, the theory of the Scandinavian origin of reindeer domestication may have been inspired by certain efforts in Sweden to tame the elk (*Alces alces* or *Cervus alces*). These, however, belong to recent times, and stories relative to them are not well substantiated by historical records. Although Louis Figuier, in his *Mammalia*, asserts that in Sweden for two or three centuries the elk was used in the harness, but that the custom is now given up, the objection has justly been raised by J. D. Caton[1] that it is difficult to understand why this alleged domestication was abandoned in a country so well adapted to its use. Sporadic cases of training elks to harness may formerly have occurred in Sweden; but no general attempt to tame the animal, and certainly no "domestication" of it, has ever taken place.

As a consequence of geographical conditions, the Chinese were far removed from reindeer-breeding localities; and for this reason we cannot expect to find in their records any coherent and comprehensive accounts, which would permit us to elaborate an intelligent history of the domestication. The expansion of their political power and the extension of their influence over neighboring tribes, however, enabled the Chinese occasionally to get a glimpse of the curious animal; and for lack of any other sources, their casual mentions of it are of capital importance, and at the same time represent the oldest extant references to the reindeer.

A very curious allusion to reindeer occurs in the Annals of the Liang dynasty in the description of the mythical country Fu-sang.[2] In A.D. 499 the Buddhist monk Huei Shen returned to King-chou, the capital of the Liang, and gave a fabulous account of Fu-sang, alleged to have been situated far off in the northeastern ocean. As to means of conveyance, he reported, the people there have vehicles drawn by horses, oxen, and stags; they raise deer in the

[1] *The Antelope and Deer in America*, p. 278.

[2] *Liang shu*, ch. 54, p. 12. This work was compiled by Yao Se-lien in the first half of the seventh century from documents of the Liang dynasty, which ruled from A.D. 502 to 556.

manner as oxen are reared in China, and make cream[1] from their milk. The allusion to the reindeer is unmistakable: they are plainly described as being kept in the state of domesticity for the purpose of drawing vehicles (that is, sledges) and for milk-consumption. Such an economic condition, as described in this text—the simultaneous breeding of horse, cattle, and reindeer—is not found, however, in any region of the northern Pacific; and if Fu-sang has been identified with America by some fantasists, the fact remains that neither the domestic horse nor cattle nor reindeer ever existed in pre-Columbian America. Nor are these conditions applicable to the Island of Saghalin, which Schlegel put on a par with the Fu-sang country of the Chinese account: horse and cattle were introduced there only by the Russian settlers in the latter part of the nineteenth century; and the reindeer, as already shown by L. von Schrenck, is there likewise a recent introduction going back to a few centuries. We do not even know whether Saghalin was populated at all in the fifth century. Neither can any Tungusian tribe come into question, since the Tungus employ the reindeer only as a beast of burden and for riding-purposes, but rarely for drawing sledges. The Fu-sang account is a fantastic concoction, devoid of any geographical value, pieced together from heterogeneous elements emanating from different sources and quarters. While each of these elements bears a germ of truth, their combination makes an unreal picture. The breeding of horse, cattle, and reindeer combined, in reality, occurs only in the Baikal region, particularly among the present Soyot; and Huei Shen's account of the reindeer in connection with horse and cattle has doubtless hailed from that quarter. The ethnic and economic

[1] The Chinese term *lo* 酪 denotes any dairy products, as cream, butter, cheese, sour or fermented milk. The former translators of this text have made a liberal choice without being concerned about what products are actually made of reindeer-milk. Bretschneider had butter made from reindeer-milk, but butter is never produced from it by any East-Siberian tribe. Schlegel (*T'oung Pao*, vol. III (1892), p. 123) decided on a fermented liquor, but such is never made. In fact, reindeer-milk is not made into any product in northern Asia, but is consumed as it is, in its natural state, as a fatty, creamy substance. S. W. Williams (*Journal American Oriental Society*, vol. XI, (1882), p. 93) therefore was quite right in translating, "and make cream of their milk."

condition of this locality, which is of paramount importance for the history of reindeer domestication, will be fully discussed hereafter.

Before mentioning the three kinds of vehicles used in Fu-sang, Huei Shen speaks also of a peculiar breed of oxen with very long horns. According to Williams, the horns were so long that they would hold things—the biggest as much as five pecks. According to Schlegel, the oxen could carry on their horns loads weighing up to twenty quintals.[1] Schlegel[2] thinks also that the reindeer is intended by this ox, but it is improbable that Huei Shen would first designate the reindeer as an ox and in the following sentence describe it as a deer. Further, loads are never placed on the reindeer's antlers; and it is equally inconceivable that loads were ever packed on the horns of an ox.[3]

[1] The passage is not very clearly worded, and the text presumably is corrupted. In all probability, it means that the people used these horns for carrying loads in them, the horns holding up to twenty corns (*hu* 斛, a measure of capacity).

[2] *L. c.*, p. 142.

[3] There are several other misconceptions in Schlegel's discussion of the subject. The Manchu term *kandahan* refers to the elk only, not to the reindeer. The Tungusian name for the " reindeer," *oron*, has no connection with Russian *olen'*, or *vice versâ*, as asserted by Schlegel. Russian *olen'* is an old Indo-European word connected with Lithuanian *élnis*, *alnis;* Lettic *alnis*, Old Prussian *alne*, German *elen*, Greek ἔλαφος (from **elŋ-bhos*) and ἐλλός (from **elnos*, " young hart "); Armenian *eln* (doe); Cymric *elain* (doe). The Russians, according to Schlegel, do not discriminate between " stag " and " reindeer," and call both indifferently *olen'*. Russian *olen'*, however, is the general term for *cervus*, and the reindeer is properly *s'äverni olen'* (northern deer), abbreviated into *olen'* when so understood from the context.—Neither H. C. von der Gabelentz nor Zacharov, in their Manchu dictionaries, have noted a word for the reindeer. Such, nevertheless, exists, though it is doubtless a loan-word from Tungusian. The *Ts'ing wen hui shu* (in Manchu: *Manju isabuha bithe*, ch. 1, p. 46), a Manchu-Chinese dictionary published in 1751 by Li Yen-ki, records the well-known Tungusian term *oron* as the Manchu designation for the reindeer, giving in Chinese the definition, " name of a cervine animal, antlers growing on the heads of both male and female, subsisting on moss, and raised by the deer-hunters." The same lexicographer notes *oronggo* in the sense of " deer-hunter " (the same word signifies otherwise a wild sheep with long and flat horns, resembling the " yellow sheep," *Antilope gutturosa;* in this sense the word appears also in Mongol) and the tribal name *Oročo-i niyalma*. It is not probable that Manchu *oron* (domesticated reindeer) and *iren* (wild reindeer) are interrelated words, as proposed by W. Schott (" Ueber das altaische Sprachengeschlecht," *Abhandlungen Berliner Akademie* (1847), p. 366); for Manchu *iren* is related to the Tungusian forms *hiru* and *siru* (below the Ussuri) and *iru* (above the Ussuri), in other Tungusian dialects also *hirun*, *ira* (W. Grube, *Goldisches Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 54). Neither is there any likelihood that, as supposed by Schott, there is interrelation of Manchu *oron* and Lapp *rončo* or *ronča* (male reindeer), in which the initial vowel should have been eliminated.

The Annals of the T'ang Dynasty (618–906) contain an interesting notice of a reindeer-breeding tribe, the Wu-huan, then settled in a region east or southeast of Lake Baikal. This notice runs as follows:

The Wu-huan 烏丸 or Ku-huan 古丸, also styled Kü 鞠 or Kiai 袺, live in the northeast of the Pa-ye-ku 拔野古 (Bayirku). In their country there are trees, but grass is lacking, while there is plenty of moss. The inhabitants have neither sheep nor horses, but keep reindeer (stags) in the manner of cattle or horses. These animals subsist only on moss. They are trained to drawing sledges (carts). Reindeer-skins, moreover, are utilized as material for clothing.[1]

In the *T'ang hui yao*[2] this text is worded as follows:

Traveling for six days in a north-easterly direction from this country (Pa-ye-ku), one arrives in the country Kü, where there are trees, but no grass. While sheep and horses are absent, there are reindeer. In like manner as cattle and horses are employed in China, the reindeer are used there for drawing sledges, which are capable of carrying three or four persons. The people clothe themselves with reindeer-skin. The reindeer subsists on the moss of the soil.

The fact that in these texts the reindeer is spoken of as a domestic animal is well attested by the use of the verb *huan* 豢 ("to feed domestic animals with grain") and by the peculiar employment of the animals in the service of man. The *T'ung tien*,[3] written by Tu Yu (A.D. 735–812) between the years 766 and 801, with reference to the Wu-huan, employs straightway the term "domesticated stag" (*kia ch'u lu* 家畜鹿).

The history of the Wu-huan is well known from the Chinese Annals.[4] In the time of their early history we hear nothing to the effect that they kept reindeer. Their domestic animals were cattle, horses, sheep, and dogs. In the beginning of the Han dynasty (about 200 B.C.) they were broken up by the Hiung-nu, who are usually regarded as identical with the Huns, and, while subject to the latter, paid their annual tribute in cattle, horses, and sheep.

[1] *T'ang shu*, ch. 217 B, pp. 7a–b.

[2] Ch. 98, p. 16b. This work was written by Wang P'u, and completed in A.D. 961.

[3] Ch. 199, p. 18b.

[4] See Visdelou in D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* (La Haye, 1779), vol. IV, pp. 79–86; E. H. Parker, "History of the Wu-wan or Wu-hwan Tunguses of the First Century," *China Review*, vol. XX, pp. 71–100, and *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, pp. 117–125.

They were pastoral nomads, roaming about with their herds wherever there was grass and water; tents, always faced toward the east, formed their habitations. Each man, from the chieftain downward, possessed his own flocks and managed his own property, nobody serving another. They were skilful horsemen and archers, given to hunting. Flesh and dairy products were their chief means of subsistence; in a small measure they also grew millet. Their garments were made from bird's down, though they understood the preparation of leather and felt. According to the Chinese system of classification, the Wu-huan were counted among the Tung Hu (Eastern Hu or Barbarians), which term has without any reason been identified with "Tungus."[1]

There is no wonder that the early Wu-huan had no reindeer, for in their habitat this animal did not occur. They were first settled in southern Manchuria, and after the Chinese victories over the Hiung-nu in 120 B.C., were transplanted by the Emperor Wu into what is now the northern part of Chi-li Province and Liao-tung, in order to serve as a sort of buffer-state between China and the Hiung-nu. Skilled horsemen, they were organized into cavalry squadrons. From this time onward that tribe did not play any important rôle in history. In A.D. 207 they were decisively defeated by Ts'ao Ts'ao at Liu-ch'eng. It is somewhat surprising to meet them in the T'ang period (618–906) in a new geographical environment as northeastern neighbors of the Bayirku, a branch of the Turkish Uigur, and in the entirely new economic condition

[1] This theory belongs to the category of paper etymologies. Phonetically there is not a shadow of a coincidence between Chinese Tung Hu and Tungus, except the initial consonants. The word "Tungus," about the antiquity of which nothing is known, would never have been transcribed by the Chinese in that manner. First, it is used at present only by a few clans of Tungusian tribes, and by just those who are so remote from China, that it may well be doubted that they were ever in contact with her. Secondly, the word written by us "Tungus" is pronounced by the natives claiming this name To-ńús, as noted by myself in Siberia. There is neither a *g* nor an *h* in it, and the guttural nasal opens the second syllable bearing the accent. The Chinese, accordingly, should they have had occasion to hear this name, would have transcribed it To-ńu (ngu), or To-ńu-se. The Chinese term Hu is applied to many other peoples also, especially the Iranians of Central Asia, and even to India. Klaproth (*Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 83) has already observed with correct instinct that it appears not very probable that the name "Tungus" is derived from Chinese Tung Hu.

of reindeer-breeders, as which they do not appear in any earlier period. This branch of the Wu-huan appears to have been a scattered horde, which had remained in its ancient seats, and was driven thence farther to the west, presumably as far as the country east or southeast from Lake Baikal, where the natural conditions for the maintenance of reindeer prevail. In all probability, they struck there a tribe which had already domesticated the reindeer; for Huei Shen's report has shown us that the domestication must have been an accomplished fact in the fifth century. At any rate, there is no valid reason for crediting the Wu-huan with the initiative or with any originality in this enterprise. They were originally horsemen and cattle-breeders; and when they drifted into their new domicile, they adopted what they found, adapting themselves to this novel economy.

Marco Polo[1] speaks of a tribe called by him Mescript, and identified by Yule with the Merkit in the country of Bargu, near Lake Baikal:

> They are a very wild race, and live by their cattle, the most of which are stags and these stags, I assure you, they used to ride upon.

Certainly this is the reindeer. Yule is inclined to think that Marco embraces under this tribal name in question characteristics belonging to tribes extending far beyond the Mekrit, and which in fact are appropriate to the Tungus; and continues that Rashid-eddīn seems to describe the latter under the name of Uriangkut of the Woods, a people dwelling beyond the frontier of Barguchin, and in connection with whom he speaks of their reindeer obscurely, as well as of their tents of birchbark, and their hunting on snow-shoes. As W. Radloff[2] has endeavored to show, the Woodland Uryangkit, in this form mentioned by Rashid-eddīn, should be looked upon as the forefathers of the present Yakut. Rashid-eddīn, further, speaks of other Uryangkit, who are genuine Mongols, and live close together in the territory Barguchin Tukum, where the clans Khori, Bargut, and Tumat, are settled. This region is

[1] Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 269.

[2] "Die jakutische Sprache," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* (1908), pp. 54–56.

east of Lake Baikal, which receives the river Barguchin flowing out of Lake Bargu in an easterly direction. The tribal name Bargut (*-t* being the termination of the plural) is surely connected with the name of the said river. The Persian historian Rashid-eddīn, in his history of the Mongols written in 1302, speaks of a tribe styled Woodland Uryangkit living in forests northeast of Lake Baikal.[1] Their clothing consisted of animal skins. Cattle and sheep were not reared by them, but in place of sheep and cattle they kept mountain-oxen (*gāwi kohī*), mountain-sheep (*mīš*), and *jur* (Saiga antelope). They tamed these animals, milked them, and consumed this milk. During their peregrinations they loaded the mountain-oxen, but never quitted their forests. Wherever they stopped, they made huts and yurts of birchbark. Rashid-eddīn, further, narrates how they bored the birches and drank the birch-juice, and how they hunted in the winter on snowshoes, employing snow-sticks, and dragging along the spoils of the chase on sleighs. This text is very interesting,[2] but the Persian author's description of the domestic animals is by no means clear. Radloff infers that he alludes to a reindeer-breeding hunting-tribe, but he fails to inform us by which of the three animals named in the text he wishes to have the reindeer understood. It might not be impossible that the latter may be hidden under the mountain-ox; the Scandinavians and Lapp, for instance, apply terms like "ox," "cow," and "calf" to the reindeer.[3] On the other hand, however, as the tame yak occurs in the Baikal region, and particularly among the Uryankhai, the descendants of Rashid-eddīn's Uryankit,[4]

[1] In another passage of his work, Rashid-eddīn states that the designation "woodland peoples" is meant in contradistinction to peoples inhabiting the steppe; but there are many kinds of forest peoples, because one or another yurt of almost every tribe is in the vicinity of a forest, and because some tribes are distant from forests a month's journey, others two months' journey, others again only a day's journey.

[2] It has frequently been translated: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I, pp. 9, 421; F. von Erdmann, *Uebersicht der Völkerstämme nach Raschid-ud-din* (Kazan, 1841), p. 124, and *Temudschin*, p. 191; Berezin, *Istoriya Mongolov, sočinenie Rashid-eddina*, pp. 90, 141; Radloff, *l. c.*, p. 54 (revised edition of the text reprinted by Salemann, p. 84).

[3] Finnish *härkä* and Lapp *herke* mean "ox," and are applied to the tame reindeer.

[4] In the high mountainous portions of the eastern Sayan, cattle are reared in a few specimens by the Soyot up to an altitude of from five to six thousand feet, but

it may be permissible to think of the yak as well. There remain the sheep and the *jur*. The latter is a Mongol word (*dsür*) referring to the Saiga antelope. That this animal *might* be tamed and kept in captivity I do not doubt, but that it has actually been done in the region in question is not known to me. It is not plausible, either, that Rashid-eddīn should avail himself, for the designation of the domestic reindeer, of a Mongol term, which strictly denotes a wild beast. Thus the word "sheep" (*mīš*) would be the last resort for the reindeer interpretation.[1] The fact that it is not an ordinary sheep becomes evident from the assertion that this people does not rear sheep. Rashid-eddīn obviously speaks from hearsay, without entertaining correct notions of the matter, and his terms are evidently chosen in a state of embarrassment. If we are allowed to read from his text that he describes a reindeer-breeding people, it is less his obscure nomenclature that justifies us in this conclusion than the facts that also contemporaneous Chinese records and Marco Polo know of reindeer in this region, and that these still exist there at the present time, together with yak and horse.

There is another, ethnographical reason, which for a long time caused me to hesitate to believe in Rashid-eddīn's reindeer. Radloff regards this writer's Woodland Uryangkit as the ancestors of the modern Yakut, chiefly on the ground that a former appellative of the Yakut was Urāngkhai (Urāngxai) Sakha; and he looks upon Urāngkhai as the original tribal name of the Yakut. Now, according to Radloff, the Woodland Uryangkit were a typically reindeer tribe; the Yakut, however, are not.

If, accordingly, Radloff's theory of a connection of Rashid-

southward among the Uryankhai and Darkhat they are frequently replaced by *Bos grunniens* and its bastard forms with the domestic cattle, the so-called *khaïluk*. The Buryat prefer the latter to *Bos grunniens*, which is known to them through the Uryankhai. Among these Soyot, as it hardly occurs otherwise in the south of eastern Siberia, the domestic ox is found, together with reindeer and horse; the reindeer, however, remains for them the most important of the three domesticated animals. G. Radde, *Reise im Süden von Ost-Sibirien*, vol. I, *Säugetier-fauna* (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 270.

[1] In the language of the Koibal, the reindeer is styled "white goat" (*ak kīk*), according to A. Castrén, *Koibalische Sprachlehre*, p. 75.

eddīn's Uryangkit with the present Yakut be correct, we are confronted with a fundamental contrast between the cultures of the two peoples. The Uryangkit are supposed to have been active reindeer-breeders, milking the animals, and subsisting on their milk; while the Yakut do not milk them at all, and look upon the whole business as an incidental affair of their life and as a foreign invasion. This contradiction has escaped Radloff, but attention should be called to this anomaly. In their present condition, the Yakut have lived at least since the seventeenth century, when the Russians first became acquainted with them. Rashid-eddīn wrote in 1302, so that the transition, if it took place, must have been the outcome of some three centuries; but this would be difficult to accept. In all probability, we shall have to interpret the events somewhat differently. While part of the Uryangkit may have been absorbed by the Yakut, this process need not be invoked to explain the entire ethnic composition of the Yakut. It was merely one of the political events that tended to contribute to the formation of this now powerful tribe, but currents from other directions as well have had their share in its ultimate organization.

Among the Yakut, now numbering about two hundred thousand, the reindeer represents a secondary acquisition, which they received from the Tungus. This borrowing is upheld by the traditions of the Yakut themselves, who assert that the Tungus are acquainted with no other domestic beast than the reindeer, and that the latter is the truly Tungusian cattle, which for this reason they style "foreign cattle."[1] This fact is brought out by the very conditions obtaining among the Yakut in regard to the reindeer. The Yakut are not a people of nomadic habits, but lead a sedentary life, based chiefly on the maintenance of cattle and horses, on agriculture and fishery. Reindeer take only an insignificant share in their culture, and are kept but reluctantly, mainly in the northern districts of the province of Yakutsk. Reindeer-breeders, as are found among the Tungus, Chukchi, and Samoyed, do not exist in their midst. They merely keep small herds, mainly utilized for driving or as pack-animals. Solely among the Dolgan of Turukhansk, who have

[1] V. L. S'äroševski, *The Yakut* (in Russian), vol. I, pp. 146, 307.

adopted the Tungus practice of nomadism, is the reindeer the exclusive domestic animal. The most curious fact is that the Yakut do not milk their reindeer at all, and slaughter it on rare occasions only, so that no reindeer meat is for sale among them. Their aversion toward nomadic life, and their habit of living in blockhouses, impose many restrictions on the keeping of reindeer, which without any doubt they adopted from Tungusian tribes.[1]

There can be no doubt, however, that during the Mongol period (thirteenth century) the reindeer was kept in a state of domesticity in the Baikal region. We have excellent testimony to this effect in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty.[2] Here mention is made of the Kirgiz on the upper Yenisei, and, in connection with them, of five smaller territories, apparently inhabited likewise by Kirgiz. One of these is styled Han-ho-na, situated at the source of the Yenisei and east of the River Wu-se (Us), an affluent of the Yenisei.

> This region is accessible only over two mountain-passes and abounds in wild game, while domestic animals are scarce. The poor have no regular means of livelihood and erect hovels from birch-bark. They transport their chattels on white deer and consume the milk of this deer.

This certainly is the reindeer. It is worthy of note that in the same period we have a report from the Chinese traveler Ch'ang Te (1259) to the effect that the Kirgiz used dogs instead of horses for drawing sledges.[3] Accordingly, we are here confronted with the curious fact that a people in the central and southern part of Siberia was familiar with two specific methods of transportation, which we are wont to connect with the cultures of the peoples in the high north and northeast of Asia. Klaproth[4] thinks that the Han-ho-na were of Samoyed stock, presumably because they kept reindeer; and there is certainly a basis for this assumption. It must be considered, however, that the reindeer is not restricted to

[1] The Yakut's power of assimilation is well characterized by A. v. Middendorff (*Die Eingeborenen Sibiriens*, p. 1561), who says that among Tungusians and Samoyed the Yakut turns a Tungusian or Samoyed within the briefest space of time.

[2] *Yüan shi*, ch. 42; 63, p. 32 b (K'ien-lung edition).

[3] E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, vol. 1, p. 129.

[4] *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. 1, p. 113.

certain ethnic groups, but is first of all bound to certain localities of specific floristic environment. When a tribal movement took place in the Baikal region, it could well happen that the ownership of the reindeer changed hands. The Kirgiz, taken in their entirety, were neither reindeer-breeders nor keepers of sleigh-dogs: neither the T'ang Annals, which have preserved for us the oldest account of this nation, nor Rashid-eddīn[1] or Abulgazi, state that it ever maintained herds of reindeer.

During the eighteenth century the Chinese noticed the reindeer also in the possession of Tungusian tribes like the Oroči,[2] but these recent references are hardly of historical interest. The news of the occurrence of domestic reindeer on Saghalin was then received in Peking as a novelty.[3]

Reindeer have been traced by sinologues in Chinese records where reindeer cannot be discovered by an unbiased mind. The term Ti 狄 is one of those general designations under which the ancient Chinese comprised a certain group of barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes occupying the southern part of present Mongolia. Klaproth[4] argued that the word *ti* signifies also a large wild stag, and concluded that in ancient times the hordes in question availed themselves of reindeer, like their eastern neighbors, and that for this reason they received the name Ti.[5] This argumentation is open to several objections: true it is, *ti* may denote a wild stag, but it is nowhere explained as a tamed deer or reindeer. There is no such interpretation, as intimated by Klaproth, of the ethnic term Ti on the part of the Chinese, neither is there any record that the alleged eastern neighbors of those Ti ever kept reindeer.

[1] His account of the Kirgiz has been translated by Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. III, p. 366.

[2] *Huang ts'ing chi kung t'u*, ch. 3. In the memoirs of the Manchu Tulishen's embassy to the Kalmuk (1712–15) the reindeer among the Tungus in the region of Irkutsk is briefly described. See G. T. Staunton, *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars* (London, 1821), p. 70.

[3] Compare Du Halde, *Description of the Empire of China*, vol. II, p. 247. The Japanese traveler Mamia Rinsō, who visited Saghalin in 1808, brought the first account of the reindeer to Japan. Ph. von Siebold, *Nippon*, vol. II, pp. 229–230.

[4] *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 102.

[5] According to Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. I, p. 188, the term Pei Ti (Northern Ti) would date only from the T'ang period. It is found, however, at an earlier date; for instance, in the *Nan shi* (ch. 79, p. 8 a).

It is asserted also, after Chinese sources, that the northern Shi-wei should have tamed the reindeer.[1] The text here referred to, however, contains nothing to this effect, but merely says that the country of this people abounded in wild deer.[2] According to the Chinese account, this tribe raised cattle, swine, and dogs as domestic animals, and fish-skin formed their clothing; reindeer nomads certainly wear reindeer-skins. Another group of this people, plainly called Shi-wei, who lived a thousand *li* north of the Mo-ki or Wu-ki, the center of their territory being in the basin of Kerulen river, subsisted on pork and fish, reared cattle and horses, but lacked sheep; they clothed themselves in the skins of white deer.[3] This " white deer " may have been elk or wild reindeer. Theophrastus[4] already mentions that the skin of the wild reindeer (*tarandus*), which according to him occurs in the territories of the Scythians and Sarmatians, is of the thickness of a finger, and is so durable that it is made into thoraxes; and the lexicographer Hesychius (fifth century A.D.) says that the Scythians employed the furs of the tarandus as clothing.[5]

Archaeological monuments do not shed much light on the ques-

[1] J. H. Plath, *Die Mandschurey*, p. 82, who accepted the translations of the Jesuit missionaries of the eighteenth century.

[2] *T'ang hui yao*, ch. 96, p. 7. Compare Vasilyev in *Trudy* of the *Oriental Section of the Imperial Archæological Society*, vol. IV (1859), p. 32.

[3] *Wei shu*, ch. 100, p. 4 b. According to the T'ang Annals (*T'ang shu*, ch. 219, p. 7), the Shi-wei raised a large breed of swine, the tanned skin of which was used for garments. The so-called Northern Annals give the following notice of this tribe: " The Shi-wei lived a thousand *li* north of the Mu-ki, subsequently styled Mo-ho, six thousand *li* from the capital Lo-yang. In speech they were related to the Kitan. They raised cattle and horses, but not sheep, and also kept swine, subsisting on pork and fish. In the summer they led a sedentary life; in the winter they roamed along the river-courses, catching sables. They used the composite horn bows and long arrows. White-deer skins formed their clothing. Corpses were buried in the trees [as still practised by Tungusian tribes and often observed by myself]. They used coracles; and their primeval forests and pasture-lands teemed with a rich fauna, and [unfortunately, as at present] also with mosquitoes " (*Pei shi*, ch. 94, p. 9 b). Deer-skin clothing is ascribed by the Chinese annalists to several other tribes of Siberia; thus, for instance, the women of the Liu-kuei, a tribe to be located in Kamchatka (see *T'oung Pao*, 1916, p. 368), employed for their winter costume skins of swine and stag, and fish-skins for summer-dress.

[4] *Fragments*, 172 (*opera*, ed. Wimmer, p. 458).

[5] Sarauw, *Rentier in Europa*, p. 10.

tion. Wild deer, particularly the elk, are frequently represented on so-called Scythian and Siberian antiquities of the bronze age.[1] In Mongolia many sepulchral stones with figures of stags have been found.[2] A representation of domestic reindeer accompanied by men, of ancient date, has not yet been traced.

From the preceding notes it becomes manifest that the domestication of the reindeer does not go back to times of a dim antiquity, but is of a comparatively recent date, falling within the historical era. The Chinese account of A.D. 499, as far as we know at present, is the earliest in existence. The reindeer was then milked and employed as a draught-animal; in other words, its domestication was then an accomplished fact. By calculating several centuries upward of that date, we thus arrive at the primeval period when the initial steps leading to the domestication were taken. The interval required for the process of domestication in its various stages will naturally remain a matter of conjecture and speculation, but a fair compromise may be reached by the formula that the incipient stage may belong to the beginnings of our era. It is obvious also, from a purely historical standpoint, that the domestication is far older in Asia than in Europe, and that consequently the center from which the domestication has taken its starting-point must be sought for on Asiatic soil.

Center of Domestication

All observers agree in regarding the domestication of the reindeer as an imitative process leaning toward that of horse and cattle. In fact, the reindeer is utilized by man in exactly the same manner as those two breeds,—as a draught, pack, and riding animal. The recent date of the domestication also brings out its secondary character. One of the most peculiar and uniform features which is apt to illustrate the imitative tendency is the castration of the stags, practised alike throughout the zone of reindeer occurrence.

[1] See Aspelin, *Antiquités du nord finno-ougrien*, p. 68, no. 307; p. 69, nos. 311, 313–315; p. 71, no. 323.

[2] *Inscriptions de l'Iénissei*, p. 16. I. G. Granö, *Archäol. Beobachtungen in Südsibirien und Nordwest-Mongolei* (Helsingfors, 1910), pp. 49, 53; and *Geogr. Verbreitung der Altertümer in der Nordwest-Mongolei* (*ibid.*, 1910), pp. 37, 45.

In the eighteenth century Knud Leems[1] reported, "Taurum rangiferinum castraturus Lappo, testiculos non, ut alias fieri solet, dissecta cute, eruit, sed, admoto ore, dentibus contundit." In the same manner the process is described in modern times by J. D. Caton,[2]

> The Lapp perform the operation with their teeth; the glands are bruised or crushed without breaking the skin. No other mode of castration has ever been known among the Lapp. This imperfect operation is probably sufficient for their purposes, for it so subdues the natural ferocity of the animal as to subject him to control, while it leaves enough of spirit to make his services highly sufficient. Were it carried as far as with us, it might so destroy his energy as to leave him practically useless.[3]

The Ostyak designate the gelded reindeer *xatri*, which, according to S. Patkanov,[4] is a loan-word received from Samoyed. Whether the Ostyak adopted the process from this people remains an open question; but this is more than probable, in view of the fact that the Samoyed are the most skilful and successful reindeer-breeders, and are doubtless responsible for the transportation of the animal from Asia to Europe.[5] The Chukchi, according to Bogoras,[6] in order to geld the bucks, bite with their teeth either through the dowcets or through the spermatic ducts. The operation is said

[1] *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper* (Kiöbenhavn, 1767; in Danish and Latin), p. 152. About a century earlier we have the same observation recorded by J. Scheffer, *Lappland* (Franckfurt, 1675), p. 374.

[2] *A Summer in Norway* (Chicago, 1880), p. 228.

[3] See also E. Demant, *Das Buch des Lappen Johan Turi*, p. 40. This book contains the autobiography of a Lapp, and is one of the finest documents of primitive life and thought that we possess.

[4] *Die Irtysch-Ostjaken*, vol. I, p. 18. See also A. Ahlqvist, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne*, vol. VIII, 1890, p. 6. There are many more Samoyed loan-words in Ostyak relative to reindeer-culture: hence Ahlqvist (*ibid.*, p. 21) concluded that the Ostyak appear to have adopted from the Samoyed certain important features of reindeer-breeding, or perhaps even this entire industry.

[5] Among the Samoyed, a very specialized nomenclature of the reindeer and the equipment relating to it obtains, as shown by a glance at A. Castrén's *Wörterverzeichnisse aus den samojedischen Sprachen*, pp. 262–263. Terms denoting the wild and domesticated animal, the gelded and ungelded male, are strictly differentiated; and there are peculiar words for the female, the calf in its various stages of growth, the old and the hornless animal, with many variations in the dialects.

[6] *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. VII, p. 84.

not to affect the reindeer much, for immediately afterward it continues to graze. Sometimes the scrotum is tied very tightly with a sinew thread, and after a while becomes atrophied and drops off.

The milking of the reindeer is another practice which demonstrates the dependence of the domestication. There can be no doubt that it came into existence in imitation of milking cows, mares, and sheep. The fact that this economy is comparatively old is attested by the Chinese account of the fifth century. Even the Tungus, who, with a few exceptions, use the reindeer solely for riding, milk the calving females. Four teacupfuls of milk within twenty-four hours make the whole produce. The Chukchi even try to suck milk from the doe's udder.[1] The reindeer is plainly not a milk-furnishing animal, and has been forced by man into assuming a rôle which is denied to it by nature.[2]

Property-marks for the purpose of recognizing their animals are utilized by all reindeer-breeding tribes. The Chukchi again betray their fondness of biting likewise in this case; for they mark their property by biting a piece out of the fawns' ears in late summer, or the next spring during the separation of bucks from pregnant dams. The Lapp,[3] Samoyed, Tungus, and other reindeer peoples, cut marks in the ears of their animals. Thirteen such marks from the Tungus of Ayan have been illustrated by Pekarski and Tsv'ätkov.[4] One or two cuts, in straight lines, angular, or rounded, are made in one ear or in both. This practice has been perpetuated by our Government in Alaska.

> Every local superintendent must take careful oversight of the annual marking of the reindeer and see that all reindeer are correctly marked according to ownership. He shall keep a complete list of such marks in the records of the station.[5]

[1] Bogoras, *l. c.*

[2] In regard to peculiar methods of milking on the part of the Lapp, see E. Demant, *Buch des Lappen Johan Turi*, pp. 30, 39; on the part of the Soyot Ø. Olsen, *Et primitivt folk* (Kristiania, 1914), p. 67.

[3] J. Scheffer, *Lappland*, p. 379.

[4] "Očerki byta Priayanskix Tungusov," *Publication du Musée d'Anthropologie*, vol. II, p. 37.

[5] *Rules and Regulations regarding the U. S. Reindeer Service in Alaska, approved June 10, 1907, and December 7, 1908* (Washington, 1911).

Aluminum button markers are employed for this purpose.[1] The reindeer-breeders of Siberia are not the originators of this custom, but it was doubtless transmitted to them by Turkish-Mongol tribes. The term *tamaga*, *tamga*, *tamka*, denoting a property-mark on cattle and subsequently a seal, is common to all of these; it is diffused all over Siberia, and is even known in China and Tibet (*dam-k'a*, *t'am-ga*).[2]

The uniformity of reindeer-breeding is characterized also by the universal method of lassoing the animals. Everywhere a long lasso, either plaited from horse-hair or from thin seal-skin straps, is used for catching the deer after pasturing in the morning, when its services are required. The Tungus are very skilful in throwing the lasso from a respectable distance; and most animals will patiently halt, or even run to their master's side, as soon as merely touched by the rope. A classical description of this procedure is given by the Yakut Uvarovski in his autobiography.[3]

The reindeer-breeders cannot lay claim, either, to any original thought or invention as to the entire apparatus utilized by them in connection with the reindeer. Above all, the pack-saddle and the method of loading, riding-saddle, harness, sledge, and snowshoes, are all borrowed institutions.[4] The geographical distribution of sledge and snowshoe by no means coincides with the area of reindeer domestication. On the one hand, we encounter the two implements among the primitive dog-breeding tribes of northern and northeastern Asia, inclusive of the Amur and Ussuri regions, where the reindeer is unknown; and, on the other hand, they extend far into the south of Siberia, even into Mongolia and Turkistan, where they are associated neither with the dog nor with the reindeer. Sledge and snowshoe, accordingly, cover an infinitely wider territory than the domestic reindeer, and obviously were in existence in

[1] S. Jackson, *Fourteenth Annual Report on Introduction of Reindeer into Alaska, 1904* (Washington, 1905), p. 108. On plates 33 and 34 of this report will be found illustrations of several such marks.

[2] W. Radloff, *Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, vol. III, col. 1003; T. Watters, *Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 374.

[3] O. Böhtlingk, *Ueber die Sprache der Jakuten*, text, p. 45.

[4] Bogoras (*l. c.*, p. 88) has called attention to the uniform character of the collar for the sledge-reindeer among Chukchi, Tungus, Samoyed, and Lapp.

times prior to its domestication. As we learn from the early Chinese account relating to the year A.D. 499, the reindeer must have been trained to the sledge at that date (and certain it is that this utilization of the animal preceded its breaking-in for the saddle); and, since the same people had also horses and oxen for drawing vehicles, it is manifest that this older method was simply transferred to the reindeer. The Chinese annals furnish several classical examples of the early employment of snowshoe and sledge on the part of tribes which never availed themselves of the service of the reindeer.

According to the Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618–906), there was east of the Kirgiz, on the Yenisei, a tribe styled "Snowshoe Turks" (Mu ma T'u-küe, literally, "wooden-horse T'u-küe"),[1] consisting of three hordes.

> They covered their habitations with birch-bark and owned numerous horses. They used to cross the ice on snowshoes ('wooden horses') which they tied to their feet, taking curved branches as supports for the shoulders (snow-sticks), and thus swiftly pushing ahead.

In regard to the Pa-ye-ku (Bayirku), it is said that all people put wooden boards under their feet and pursue deer over the ice.[2] The Liu-kuei, a tribe to be located in Kamchatka and mentioned on page 113, note 3, according to the T'ang Annals,[3] "fastened to their feet wooden boards six inches wide and seven feet long, and thus hunted the game over the ice." Likewise the Kirgiz on the upper Yenisei, of whom we have a description in the Annals of the T'ang, pursued the game on snowshoes.[4] A description of the snowshoe and the mode of using it is given also by Rashid-eddīn in connection

[1] In Tibetan, *šiń-rta* (wooden horse) means any vehicle or carriage. Compare also Russian *konki* (skates; literally, little horses), from *kon'ok*, diminutive of *kon'* (horse). Chinese T'u-küe represents a transcription of the name Türk, more exactly of the plural form Türküt (see Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1915, p. 687).

[2] *T'ang hui yao*, ch. 98, p. 16. The Pa-ye-ku are mentioned under the name Bayirku in the Turkish inscriptions of Kül-tegin and Bilgä-kagan; they were a Turkish tribe living in the north of the Gobi. See also above, p. 105.

[3] Ch. 220, p. 11 b.

[4] Some authors, like Klaproth and Ritter, thought in this connection of sledges; but it has been correctly observed by W. Schott, in "Ueber die ächten Kirgisen," *Abhandlungen Berliner Akademie* (1865), p. 447; and his additional notes in *Monatsberichte Berliner Akademie* (1874), pp. 1–8, that snowshoes solely are involved.

with the Uryangkit (above, p. 108). He adds that the snowshoe is known in a large part of Mongolia and Turkistan, and that ski-running is particularly practised by the Barguchim Tukum, Khori, Kirgiz, Urasut, Telengut, and Tumat. The word used by the Persian annalist is *čane* or *čana*, which, as is well known, is found in all Turkish and Mongol languages with both significances, "snowshoe" and "sledge:" Mongol *tsana* and *čana*, Buryat *sana*, Altaic *čanak*, *čana*, etc.; Finnish *saani*, Esthonian *sāń*, Lettish *sāńus*, *sańas*, Magyar *szán*, *szány*, or *szánka*, *szánko* (diminutive); Russian *sani* (plural), *sanki* or *sanočki* (diminutive).[1]

A profound study of all types of sledge and snowshoe will doubtless yield promising results.[2] Here it may be emphasized only that the reindeer-breeders adopted ready-made what they found, merely changing some of the material: thus they preferred reindeer-skin for snowshoes, while the Turks used horse-skin and the Gilyak seal-skin. L. von Schrenck[3] has shown in particular how the Oročon (Schrenck: Oroki), scattered over a few spots of Saghalin Island, adapted the dog-sledge of the Gilyak to reindeer-transportation.[4]

From a negative viewpoint, we might say that neither the

[1] J. Kalima (*Wörter und Sachen* (1910), vol. II, p. 183) has studied to some extent the distribution of this word from the Slavistic standpoint, and arrives at the conclusion that it is a very ancient word, which Slavic, Finno-Ugrian, and Turkish languages have in common. In my opinion, the word is of Turkish-Mongol origin, and a loan-word in Finno-Ugrian and Slavic. There can be no doubt that the term has migrated jointly with the object which it denotes. The investigation of Kalima is obscured by the fact that he adds Lapp *čiöinne*, Russian *čuni*, *čunki* (in the northern dialects), and Vogul *šun*, which must be dissociated from the above series, and in fact are independent words.

[2] Compare the preliminary remarks on snowshoes by G. Hatt, "Moccasins and Their Relation to Arctic Footwear," *Memoirs American Anthropological Association*, vol. III, 1916, p. 240.

[3] *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, vol. III, p. 494.

[4] It is not correct, however, to say with Schrenck that the Saghalin Oročon are the only Tungusians to make use of sledges in connection with the reindeer. The practice is not generally Tungusian, as wrongly asserted by C. Hiekisch, *Die Tungusen*, p. 78, but is an exception, which, however, occurs sporadically wherever Tungusians come in contact with Palaeo-Asiatic dog-breeders. The illustration of a Tundra Tungus in the Kolyma district, driving on a reindeer-sledge, may be seen in V. Jochelson, *Očerk zv'äropromyšlennosti i torgovli m'äxami v Kolymskom okrug'ä* (Sketch of the Animal Industry and Fur Trade in the District of Kolyma), p. 36.

Lapp nor the Ugrians in the west, nor the Yakut (p. 110), nor the Chukchi and Koryak in the northeast, can come into question as the original reindeer-tamers. Among the Chukchi the introduction of the reindeer appears to be an affair of comparatively recent date, as shown, if by nought else, by the imperfect degree of domestication. It is difficult, however, to accept Bogoras' opinion that "they did not introduce the tame reindeer from their neighbors, but that, in imitation of them, they attempted to domesticate the race of reindeer inhabiting their own country." Such an expenditure of energy cannot be attributed to the Chukchi; and, as a matter of fact, such an instance of waste of energy is beyond our experience in the life of peoples. Man in general is not inclined toward work, unless compelled by sheer necessity or some inducement; still less does he try to do over again what has been accomplished by his neighbor. Bogoras believes his theory to be plausible, since the Chukchi reindeer is quite different from that of the Tungus. This fact, however, can be simply explained from the constant crossings between tame and wild reindeer, emphasized by Bogoras farther on. It is inconceivable that any Palaeo-Asiatic tribe ever undertook to domesticate the reindeer, as the maintenance of sleigh-dogs excludes the reindeer. L. von Schrenck[1] has already made the appropriate remark that

> the ancestors of the migrating Chukchi and Koryak themselves surely did not domesticate the reindeer, but received it in the domesticated state from a nomadic tribe, presumably the Tungus.

Tungusians, however, cannot be claimed to be the originators of reindeer-domestication, as L. von Schrenck maintains they are. The first Russian discoverers of eastern Siberia, who came in contact with the Tungus, speak of Reindeer, Horse, Dog, Steppe, and Woodland Tungus.[2] These divisions have no ethnographical sig-

[1] *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, vol. III, p. 489.

[2] P. J. v. Strahlenberg, *Das nord- und östliche Theil von Europa und Asia* (Stockholm, 1730), p. 423. Regarding the distribution and economy of the Tungus. see S. Patkanow, "Geographie und Statistik der Tungusen-Stämme Sibiriens" *Keleti Szemle*, vol. IV, pp. 141–171, 287–316; vol. V, pp. 36–56, 185–203; vol. VI, pp. 130–174, 222–283; and the same author's *O prirost'ä inorodčeskago naseleniya Sibiri* (S.-Peterburg, 1911), pp. 87–115.

nificance, but merely allude to the economic conditions under which the people were encountered at a certain time. Even this mode of life is by no means a stable characteristic, for the economy of these tribes is subject to sudden and fundamental changes. Cases have occurred where reindeer-owners lost their herds and turned to the rearing of horses or only dogs, or where woodland people were transformed into inhabitants of the steppe.[1] The Birar, settled in the river system of the Bureya and on both banks of the Amur above and below the mouth of that side-river, according to the Cossack Poyarkov, who came in touch with them in 1646, were engaged in reindeer-breeding; only thirty-five years later they are described as horse-nomads.[2] The Tungusians, accordingly, are shifting opportunists, and, in the course of their constant peregrinations, simply adopt that mode of life best suited to the geographical and economic environment of the respective places. Originally they were mere hunters and fishermen; but, being possessed of an adaptable spirit and a quick grasp of changeable conditions, they were capable of appropriating any industry offered by their neighbors. Historical considerations show us that the Tungusian tribes, in former periods of their life, were never given to reindeer-breeding. In fact, they are late arrivals in Siberia, while their original home is to be sought for in Manchuria. We can trace their history almost completely from very early times by means of the Chinese annals; but in these no mention of reindeer is made with reference to any Tungusian people, with the sole exception of a branch of the Wu-huan (p. 105). Only when they were pushed into Siberian regions did they become acquainted with the reindeer. It is even doubtful whether the Tungusians were the first to use the reindeer as a riding-beast. The Soyot, as will be seen, still ride the reindeer; and the reindeer-riding tribe alluded to by Marco Polo (p. 107) was doubtless related to the Soyot or their group.

If it is true that the reindeer represents a mere repetition of cattle and horse domestication on a smaller scale, it is logical to

[1] Examples are cited by C. Hiekisch, *Die Tungusen*, p. 47; and L. v. Schrenck, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, vol. III, p. 144.

[2] Patkanow, *Keleti Szemle* (1904), vol. V, p. 41.

conclude that the reindeer can have been domesticated only in a locality where it occurred in close association with cattle and horse. In the northern regions, where the wild tundra reindeer prevails, we meet at present as domestic animals the reindeer and the dog; in the southern belt, occupied by the wild woodland reindeer, we find the domestic reindeer in company with other large domestic stocks. It is therefore clear that the original center of domestication is to be looked for in the southern belt. The fact that Ugrian peoples were in possession of reindeer-herds employed as draught-animals toward the end of the fifteenth century, has been established from Russian documents (pp. 96–99). At present the well-to-do Wogul living in Beresov (in the western part of Tobolsk government) keep cows, horses, and reindeer. They are so reduced to poverty, however, that few own more than several tens. A Wogul on the upper Tapsya River, who has a couple of hundred, is regarded as very rich in this region; whereas, compared with well-to-do Samoyed in Obdorsk, he would only be a wretched beggar, for these count their reindeer by the thousands.[1] In the beginning of the eighteenth century the wealthy among the Ugrian Ostyak still kept a large number of reindeer, together with cattle, horses, and dogs; but many of them were so poor that they had to be content with reindeer. This is the account of G. Novitski, who wrote in 1715,—the earliest historian of this tribe.[2] At the present time, only the Ostyak of the north, being neighbors of the Samoyed, still have reindeer;[3] but it lost ground among the Irtysh-Ostyak farther south. In the epic traditions of this people, ably collected and translated by S. Patkanov and traced with good reason to a period from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, reindeer and

[1] A. Ahlquist, in *Erman's Archiv für wissensch. Kunde von Russland* (1860), vol. XX, p. 157. Regarding reindeer among the Wogul, see also A. Erman, *Reise um die Welt*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 384. Reindeer-sledges of the Wogul are illustrated by K. D. Nosilov, *U Vogulov očerki i nabroski* (1904), pp. 183, 189.

[2] G. Novitski, *Kratkoe opisanie o narod'ä Ost'atskom*, ed. of L. Maikov (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 37. An interesting contribution to the history of this people is the article of A. van Gennep, "Origine et fortune du nom de peuple 'ostiak'": *Keleti Szemle* (1902), vol. III, pp. 13–32; reprinted in his *Religions, mœurs et légendes*, pp. 94–109.

[3] M. A. Castrén, *Reiseerinnerungen aus den Jahren 1838–1844*, p. 300.

dog are mentioned as domestic animals. At that time, also the inhabitants of the northern part of the district of Tobolsk kept herds of reindeer; while at present half-domesticated reindeer are encountered only farther northward, beneath Beresov. The domestic reindeer supplied the Ostyak with meat, skins, and sinews; served as most important draught-animal in those snow-abounding regions; and was slaughtered in honor of the gods on the occasion of the sacrificial holidays. When the breeding of reindeer was still thriving among them, this animal was exclusively chosen for the sacrifice, which is still customary in the north, among the Ostyak and Samoyed living there.[1] Patkanov holds the opinion that reindeer-breeding is only a secondary industry among the Ostyak and Wogul; that is to say, when these tribes were pushed from southern regions into their present northern domicile, they were compelled to abandon the larger domestic breeds in consequence of unfavorable geographical conditions, and to take to the reindeer. I would not subscribe to this theory unconditionally; but what interests us in this connection is merely the coexistence of reindeer, cattle, and horse among Wogul and Ostyak, neither of whom, notwithstanding, can be regarded as the original domesticator of the reindeer.

There is but one territory where all the necessary postulates for reindeer-breeding are given, and which may come into question as the original center of the domestication, and this is the region of Lake Baikal. There we meet the reindeer, wild and domesticated, and, as has been shown, from ancient times. There we meet a host of tribes partially engaged in horse and cattle rearing, and partially depending on the reindeer; there, accordingly, the contact of reindeer-breeders with horse and cattle raisers is virtually established. The ancient Chinese records, as we have seen, likewise point to the same center. In the Baikal territory we find at the present time three large and distinct stocks of peoples,—the Buryat, a branch of the Mongol family; Tungusians; and a large number of tribes, originally of Samoyed and Yenisei-Ostyak stock, but now either Turkicized (*otatarilis*, "Tatarized," as the Russians say)

[1] S. Patkanov, *Die Irtysch-Ostjaken*, vol. I, p. 109; vol. II, p. 017.

or Mongolized, and for the most part speaking a Turkish language. The Buryat occupy the area in the governments of Irkutsk and Transbaikalia from the Chinese frontier as far as the Lena system northward, and from the rivers Onon to Oka, the side-river of the Angara, westward, and still farther west into the region of Nižne-Udinsk. The Buryat element is strongest beyond the Baikal, in the valleys of the Uda, Onon, and Selenga. Those on this side of the Baikal are to some extent Russianized, even practising agriculture. The others are herdsmen and owners of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. The reindeer is entirely foreign to them, and never was in the hands of any tribe of the Mongol family. Tungusians are scattered in the governments of Irkutsk, Yenisei, and Transbaikalia, chiefly subsisting on fishing and hunting, but also on agriculture and cattle-breeding. In Irkutsk government only a few clans on the upper Lena keep reindeer; in Yenisei government the latter are owned only by the well-to-do. In Transbaikalia we encounter among the Tungusians hunters, agriculturists, cattle-breeders, and reindeer people. Especially those inhabiting the districts of Tshitin and Barguzin keep reindeer.[1]

It seems certain that the Samoyed are not autochthonous in their present habitats, but migrated there from southern regions, in all probability from the territory of the Sayan mountains or the upper courses of the Yenisei basin, where there are still many scattered tribes of them enclosed by Mongols and Turks. Most of these split Samoyed adopted the language and customs of their superior neighbors, yet they remain conscious of the fact of their original nationality. I designate this group as Sayan tribes or southern Samoyed. Among the Soyot within the boundaries of China there are family-names that also occur among the Samoyed roving along the Arctic littorals.[2] The Woodland Kamasin still spoke Samoyed at the time of Castrén's travels (about 1840–50);

[1] S. Patkanov, *Keleti Szemle*, vol. VI (1905), pp. 278, 279. Concerning the Barguzin Tungus, see an article by N. M. Dobromyslov, "Zam'ätki po etnografii Barguzinskix Oročen," in *Trudy* of the Troitskosavsk-Kiachta Section of the Imperial Geogr. Soc., vol. V (1902), pp 78–87.

[2] M. A. Castrén, *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 116–117; W. Crahmer, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1912), p. 110.

but fifteen years later, when visited by W. Radloff,[1] they had adopted a Turkish form of speech. Two groups of these peoples are still active reindeer-breeders,—the Karagas and the Soyot. The former roam in the territory between the rivers Oka, Uda, Biryusa, and Kan (the boundary district of the governments of Yenisei and Irkutsk), numbering about 550 individuals. They are divided into five clans, one living in the neighborhood of the Soyot, another near the Kamasin, and another near the Buryat. Although now speaking a Turkish language of which we have an excellent grammar by Castrén, and closely resembling their Turkish neighbors in costume and manners, their methods of hunting and reindeer-keeping, as well as their winter tents made of reindeer-skins, are identical with those of the Samoyed. Also their physical habitus, several of their family names, and the survival of many Samoyed words in their speech, clearly bespeak their origin. The Soyot or Soyon, styling themselves Tuba and designated by the Mongols Urangkhai (see above, p. 109), inhabit northwestern Mongolia and a small strip of country along the Russian frontier from the sources of the river Kobdo as far as lake Koso. A great number of them who live farther south on the slopes of the Tangnu mountains are completely converted into Mongols. According to Castrén, many Soyot clan-names agree with those of the Samoyed; and the Soyot clan Mattar, according to traditions, originated from the Mator, who decidedly were Samoyed; he argued also that several Yenisei-Ostyak clans had become Soyot. Radloff[2] regards them as a medley of Kirgiz, Samoyed, and Yenisei-Ostyak; Katanov,[3] as consisting of Mongol, Turkish, and Samoyed elements. At present their language is Turkish, but among many tribes Buddhism and Mongol speech have spread so widely, that the Turkish element is threatened with extinction.

G. Radde,[4] in 1862, outlined the following sketch of the distri-

[1] *Ethnographische Uebersicht der Türkstämme*, p. 6. Regarding the Sayan tribes compare also the interesting article of N. F. Katanov, "Predaniya Prisayanskix plemen o prežnix d'älax i l'ud'ax," in *Sbornik v čest' semides'atil'ätiya G. N. Potanina*, pp. 265–288.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 17.

[3] In *Sbornik Potanina*, p. 286.

[4] *Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien*, vol. I, *Säugetierfauna*, p. 287.

bution of the reindeer in the Baikal region. South of Ilchir lake the tame reindeer, together with the horse and frequently also with cattle, is found among the mountain tribes. During the summer a division of these herds becomes necessary, the reindeer being driven into the high mountains of an altitude of seven or eight thousand feet, the horses and cattle grazing in the deeper valleys of four or five thousand feet. In the Baikal regions the reindeer is ubiquitous; in the southwestern parts, however, it is sparse now. In the mountains where the river Jida takes its source, south of Turansk, it is met among the Uryankhai, who inhabit there the space between the Russian and Chinese frontiers. It is excluded from the Selenga valley, the upper part of which, on the Russian side, is inhabited by Buryat engaged in the rearing of sheep, cattle, and horses. In the northeastern corner of lake Baikal it increases in frequency, but even there the Tungusians become impoverished in consequence of the decrease of the stock. In regard to the Soyot and Jot, he observes that they rear reindeer in large numbers (up to three hundred). The wild species still occurs farther to the south as an inhabitant of the upper zones of the forest boundary, and beyond as far as the snow-line. Hahn[1] has made the correct observation that in the Sayan mountains, the source of the Amur, the reindeer reaches the southernmost point of its diffusion, and comes there in contact with the camel and tame yak; but he draws from this fact no conclusion whatever as to the home of the domestication, but offers solely the commonplace remark that any of the migratory tribes of northeastern Asia may have been pushed back into an inhospitable country, and, losing its stock of cattle and pack-animals owing to the unfavorable climate, tamed the reindeer as a substitute.

The Soyot were visited and studied in the summer of 1914 by Ørjan Olsen, who published interesting information on the tribe.[2] According to this author, the breeding of reindeer constitutes a secondary industry among the Soyot, who also keep horses and dogs, in opposition to the Lapp and Samoyed. Their herds are

[1] *Hausliere*, p. 266.

[2] *Et primitivt folk. De mongolske Rennomader* (Kristiania, 1915). Compare the analysis of Ch. Rabot in *La Géographie*, vol. XXXI (1916–17), pp. 42–46.

not very numerous. The most fortunate among the inhabitants of the Sayan mountains (and there are few) own no more than four hundred animals; in general, the herds count from ten to fifteen heads, at least on the banks of the Sesti-Kem. The people, accordingly, cannot live exclusively on the flesh of their herds; and those on the upper Yenisei loathe to slaughter their animals, unless compelled to do so by famine. The only alimentary product is the milk, consumed either fresh or in the shape of butter or cheese. One or two large cupfuls are obtained from each operation, which is performed twice a day in an enclosure formed by wooden palisades. The reindeer is used by the Soyot as a pack and riding animal.[1] It is not attached to a sledge. The animal belongs to a very sturdy breed, the largest being able to carry loads from eighty to one hundred and ten kilo; with such a load, they make five to six kilometers an hour.

Among the Soyot, the domestication of the reindeer has progressed further than among any North-Asiatic tribe. Although they capture wild reindeer and cross these with their domesticated individuals, this offspring is remarkably little savage. Whereas other reindeer must be lassoed in order to be caught for duty, the Soyot reindeer allow themselves to be caught by hand, and follow their master like dogs, licking his hand with the expectation of a bit of salt. When pasturing in the woodland, a call from their owner is sufficient to make them return immediately. It is a notable feature also that the domestic reindeer of the Soyot territory is capable of standing the extreme summer heat. At that time the wild reindeer, which likewise occurs in the region of the sources of the Yenisei, take refuge in the snow zone of the high mountains. The domesticated herds constantly remain in the forest, in the proximity of human habitations, without suffering

[1] Compare the illustrations in Olsen, pp. 52, 73. According to I. Pesterev *Magasin asiatique*, by J. Klaproth (Paris, 1825), vol. I, p. 126, who was commanded to the Russian-Chinese frontier in the districts Udinsk and Abakansk from 1772 to 1781, the nomadic tribes near the fort of Udinsk (then belonging to the government of Tobolsk), divided into four sections, Silpigursk, Udinsk, Karagansk, and Kamgatsk, kept domestic reindeer from oldest times, the richest possessing a hundred animals; seven years before his time they lost the greatest part. He states also that the stags were used for the hunt and mounted by the hunters.

from the heat. During the hot hours they rest under thickly foliated trees. In order to protect the fawns from the blaze of the sun, the Soyot erect hedges around large cedars.

The culture of the Soyot, like that of any other people in northern and central Asia, is in a state of complete disintegration, and original conditions can no longer be expected. What we find at present is merely the weak echo of a former glory which still eloquently speaks to us from the brief accounts of Marco Polo, Rashid-eddīn, and the Chinese annals. It is difficult, if not impossible, to credit any domestication to a certain people, or even to a certain stock of peoples. In the majority of cases we must be content to trace the beginnings of a domestication to a more or less securely defined geographical area. In the present case it can be positively stated only that the primeval domestication of the reindeer took place in the Baikal region; but, if the original domestication of the reindeer is to be attached to the name of a tribal group, I should venture to say it was the southern Samoyed, or the Samoyed in the early period of their history, before migrating into their present northern habitats. I do not say, of course, that the present Soyot were the domesticators: our knowledge of the history of this tribe is altogether too vague to admit of such an interpretation. The Soyot are simply remnants and epigones of that once extended and powerful family in the midst of which this fact was accomplished.

The history of the domestication can now be clearly conceived. From the Samoyed it spread eastward to the Tungusians; from the latter to the Yakut, Chukchi, and Koryak; westward to the Ugrian tribes of the Ural and the Lapp.[1] Applied to the reindeer, this result means that the woodland reindeer was domesticated in times prior to the tundra reindeer. When the Samoyed moved northward, they naturally took along their woodland reindeer, and gradually replenished and improved their old stock by capturing wild tundra reindeer (by the methods described in the following

[1] The peculiar boat-shaped sledges of the Lapp, to which G. Hatt, "Lappiske slædeformer," *Geografisk Tidskrift*, vol. XXII (1913), pp. 139–145, has devoted a special study, in my opinion are derived from the Samoyed; for A. Olearius, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (Hamburg, 1696), p. 81, already mentions the reindeer-sledges of the Samoyed, which are shaped like half canoes or boats.

chapter), until a point was reached when the latter breed preponderated or prevailed exclusively.

The Ainu of Saghalin do not keep reindeer, but only know the animal (styled by them *tonakai*) in the possession of the Tungusian Oročon. It would hardly be necessary to emphasize this fact, were it not that A. E. von Nordenskiöld[1] has published the sketch of an Ainu standing on large snowshoes, and pulled along by a reindeer the bridle of which is tied to his belt. This illustration is said to be derived from a Japanese book published in 1804. In regard to such an employment of the reindeer on the part of the Ainu I learned nothing on Saghalin, nor can I find any reference to it in the literature on the Ainu. Even the Japanese traveler Mamia Rinsō, who visited Saghalin in 1808, and whose valuable account has been made accessible by Ph. von Siebold, gives no information on this point; on the contrary, he mentions the reindeer only in the possession of the Orotsuko (Orokko, Oroki, Oročon).[2] The sketch in question, accordingly, is either based on an incidental and isolated occurrence, or, which is more probable, represents a purely imaginative artistic production in which two features foreign to the Japanese—snowshoes and reindeer—were arbitrarily combined.

Process of Domestication

We have no contemporaneous records showing how the initial domestication of the reindeer was brought into effect. In order to obtain some idea as to how this was done, or might have been done, we must rely upon a reconstructive method. One means to this end is furnished by present-day observations of the training of individual animals. The schooling of the individual is typical of the entire breed, and the course of lessons through which each animal has to run at present must have been valid, with some variations perhaps, also ages ago.

In regard to the training of the animals, S. Jackson [3] has the following observation:

[1] *Umsegelung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega*, vol. II, p. 101.

[2] Ph. von Siebold, *Nippon*, new ed., vol. II, p. 229.

[3] *Fourteenth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska* (Washington, 1905), p. 126.

The training begins when the deer is three years old. Generally the stoutest males and geldings are selected. Females are also trained, but they are smaller and less enduring. The training begins by lassoing the selected animals, thus separating them from the herd. The poor beasts are much scared, and jump about in frantic efforts to escape. The trainer advances hand over hand on the rawhide lasso till the head is reached. They are then sometimes given a little salt, of which they are fond; they are then led about for some time or tied to a post to accustom them to confinement and, the lesson over, again released. This is repeated day by day, and when sufficiently tamed they are harnessed and in the same manner gradually accustomed to draw light loads. This takes a long time and persistent work. They should not be worked before they are three years old. At six or seven they reach their prime and then gradually decline.

The Eskimo selected by the government as apprentices to learn the art of breeding reindeer from expert Lapp reindeer-men enter into an agreement to remain from two to five years, or until sufficient skill to handle a herd is acquired.[1] This affords some idea as to the time required for a man to develop into a herder.

Although the reindeer is the only species of the deer family that has been brought into the state of domestication, there are many examples known of other members of the family *Cervidae* which develop a great adaptability to domestication and have been tamed to a high degree. Yet domestication has succeeded only in the case of the reindeer. The efforts to raise other kinds of deer are interesting to the student of reindeer-domestication as affording an object-lesson and showing us the possibilities in the initial stages preceding the state of true domestication.

All of the deer family are easily tamed. The moose has often been reared and tamed in this country; but I know of no systematic attempt to domesticate them, nor have I ever heard of their breeding in domestication. They have been sometimes broken to the harness and proved themselves able to draw good loads; and yet I know of no regular effort that has been made to reduce them to servitude. When tamed, they are reasonably docile, except the males during the rutting season, when, as might be suspected, they become ferocious, and should be kept in close quarters where they can do no harm. If castrated young, and early taught obedience to man, we may not doubt that they would readily submit to his dominion, and their great strength would give promise of useful

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

beasts of draught, especially in countries where deep snows prevail, through which they pass with facility where ordinary cattle could make no progress.[1]

A highly interesting notice on deer-farming has been written by D. E. Lantz.[2] In the United States, the wapiti or Rocky Mountain elk (*Cervus canadensis*) and the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) are managed and reared in enclosures, chiefly for profit in the sale of venison; but also the desire to preserve our vanishing game has caused the confinement of small herds under private ownership in many places. The elk readily adapts itself to any environment. It proves especially useful in clearing out underbrush from thickets, in which they are more useful than goats, since they browse higher. The increase of elk, while kept in preserves with surroundings as nearly natural as possible, is equal to that of cattle: fully ninety per cent. of the females produce healthy young. The male elk is ordinarily docile, but in the rutting season the older ones often become ill-tempered and dangerous. The remedy for viciousness is castration, the effects of which are that the animal is made docile, and its value for venison is greatly enhanced. The stocking of parks and preserves with deer merely for sport or aesthetic purposes appeals much more to a sensitive mind. The idea of raising beautiful animals like deer merely for slaughtering purposes is revolting and unsportsmanlike, and for this reason has no future. A vigorous propaganda in favor of the destruction of some of our finest game-animals, which we have every reason to wish to see preserved, should be combated in all ways possible.

Examples of tame deer can be gathered from all parts of the world and from all times. In ancient Italy herdsmen reared does (*caprea*) on sheep's milk, and the wealthy Romans were fond of keeping them in their parks together with chamois and gazelles.[3]

[1] J. D. Caton, *The Antelope and Deer in America*, p. 277. This author, further, has interesting notes on efforts to tame caribou, elk, and other deer.

[2] "Deer Farming in the United States," published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Farmer's Bulletin 330* (Washington, 1908), p. 20. Compare also the same author's "Raising Deer and Other Large Game Animals in the United States," published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Biological Survey, Bull. No. 36* (Washington, 1910), p. 62.

[3] O. Keller, *Tiere des classischen Altertums*, p. 103.

Tame stags are frequently mentioned by Greeks and Romans. Sertorius owned in Spain a white deer, which, he made the people believe, communicated prophesies to him. Vergil[1] tells how a stately stag was bathed, combed, and adorned with flowers by Silvia, the daughter of the head pastor Tyrrhus, and how the animal became accustomed to the master's hand and table. In art, neck-collars and girth are repeatedly represented on stags. Apollo, Artemis, and Amor drive in chariots drawn by stags or deer. Heliogabalus possessed a chariot pulled by four powerful stags; and Aurelian, in his triumph over Zenobia, drove with a team of four tame stags which had once belonged to a king of the Goth.[2] Columella[3] says that wild animals, like roes, antelopes, stags, and boars, are kept either for one's pleasure or for sale and profit. In the former case, any hedged place near one's homestead is sufficient, and the animals receive food and drink from one's hand; a plot of woodland with running water, walled around or fenced with pallisades, must be set aside for the game.

The genus *Dama*, which originally appears to have been restricted to the Mediterranean countries and Persia, has been introduced into western and central Europe, where it exists in a semi-domesticated condition as far north as the British Islands and the south of Sweden.

> Owing to long domestication [read "taming"], the fallow deer of the British parks frequently display great variation from the original type of coloration, and a uniformly dark brown breed has been long established, while white or whitish varieties are far from uncommon.[4]

Tamed deer were kept and fed by the hermits of ancient India. The deer-park near Rājagṛiha in which Buddha used to dwell is familiar to all readers of Buddhist literature. The kings of India built special stables for deer on the west side of their palaces.[5]

West of Tokmak the Turkish Khans of the seventh century maintained a summer residence with a park of tame harts provided

[1] *Aeneis*, VII, 483.

[2] Keller, *l. c.*, p. 90; and *Antike Tierwelt*, vol. I, p. 278.

[3] *De re rustica*, IX, 1.

[4] R. Lydekker, *Catalogue of the Ungulate Mammals in the British Museum* (London, 1915), vol. IV, p. 229.

[5] B. K. Sarkar, *The Sukranīti* (Allahabad, 1914), p. 30.

with bells and rings,—in the words of the Buddhist pilgrim Hüan Tsang, "familiar with men and not fleeing at their sight." The Khan, being very fond of them, forbade his subjects to kill them on pain of death without remission.[1]

The Island Mijo, or Aki-no Mijo (so called from the neighborhood of the province Aki), is famous for a particular breed of deer, which they say are very tame and familiar with the inhabitants. It is contrary to the laws of the country to chase and to kill them.[2]

In several places of the Altai, the maral (*Cervus elaphus*) is reared in captivity in consequence of the large demand for its antlers on the part of the Chinese, who are said to pay as much as 150 rubles for a pair, and employ it for medicinal purposes. Taming and feeding the animals are said to be easy; the antlers are cut off in their third year, the operation being without harm for the animals.[3] The Chinese have many stories in regard to tame deer, which were even used for drawing carriages. In mythology, gods and fairies ride on deers' backs.[4] Some tribes of Formosa practised the capturing of harts alive, and dexterity in this feat was regarded as a manly virtue highly extolled by folk-songs.[5]

It is not necessary to multiply these examples. Those given illustrate sufficiently the fact that many species of deer exhibit a high degree of adaptability, and that in diverse parts of the world and at different times efforts have been made to tame them and to keep them as pets in parks mainly for aesthetic reasons. In the case of every domestication, the animal deserves as much credit as man; an animal unqualified for the status, and without sympathetic instincts for man, cannot be domesticated.

[1] S. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. I, p. 14; S. Beal, *Records of Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 28; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 120.

[2] E. Kaempfer, *History of Japan* (Glasgow edition), vol. I, p. 200.

[3] A. Printz, *Erman's Archiv für wissenschaftl. Kunde von Russland*, vol. XXV, 1867, p. 294; A. Jarilow, *Beitrag zur Landwirtschaft in Sibirien*, I 319.

[4] An interesting article on Chinese notions of cervines is by M. Cibot, "Notice sur le cerf," in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* (Paris, 1788), vol. XIII, pp. 402–408.

[5] K. Florenz, "Formosanische Volkslieder," *Mitt. D. Ges. Ostasiens*, vol. VII, (1898–99), p. 122.

The following case presents a good example as to how primitive man may have managed to get possession of wild reindeer alive. The ancient Kitan and Jurči (Niüči) of Manchuria had a peculiar method of hunting deer by imitating its belling, and killing with arrow-shots the animal thus allured.[1]

A lively description of this manner of hunting was given in the eighteenth century by C. Visdelou[2] as follows:

The Niüči were always celebrated for a sort of hunting peculiar to their nation. The same method is still appropriate solely to the Manchu. These tell the following story as a well-substantiated fact. Briefly before the rutting-season each stag will establish a seraglio of does and occupy a stretch of forest or mountain. After this division there are stags left who either did not receive their share or were robbed of their spoils. Each is intent on acquiring a territory by right of conquest. He invades the district of one of his neighbors. On entering it he utters a cry as a challenge for combat. A courageous owner does not await another call, but will pounce on the intruder instantaneously. Meanwhile the does will line themselves up in two rows to watch the duel. The adversary being put to flight or thrown to the ground, his does will pass over to the victor. The Manchu take a stag's head with the antlers, hollow it out, and place it over their own head. With a hidden decoy whistle they imitate the call of a stag so perfectly that the animal is deceived. They crouch in the thicket, and at the sound of the whistle the stag comes out in the open for an attack, sometimes so precipitately and furiously that the hunter has no time to make use of his weapons. He who is thus surprised is usually lost and torn to pieces. During his youth the Emperor K'ang-hi once risked his life on such a hunt, which takes place annually. The Manchu affirm that the best, largest, and strongest

[1] H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, *Geschichte der grossen Liao*, pp. 98, 154; Chavannes, "Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan," *Journal asiatique* (mai-juin, 1897), p. 404; also Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 90. In the latter's translation appears a zoölogical puzzle by which no one as yet seems to have been struck. According to Klaproth, the Jurči subsisted on the flesh of the stags, and prepared an intoxicating beverage from the milk of the does. The question as to how it was possible to milk a wild animal did not alarm the learned sinologue. In fact, the Chinese author, the traveler Hu Kiao, who lived among the barbarians of the north from 947 to 953, did not write this nonsense. The text of the *Wu tai shi* (ch. 73, p. 3 b), in which his account is embodied, simply contains a misprint (*mi* 麋, *Cervus davidianus*, instead of *mi*, "millet"); and the passage means, as rendered by Chavannes, "They make a fermented beverage from a decoction of millet." Schlegel (*T'oung Pao*, vol. III (1894), p. 141), citing the same passage after Ma Tuan-lin, arbitrarily takes the term *mi* in the sense of "reindeer," and thinks that the Jurči distilled an alcoholic beverage from reindeer's milk. As to the other animals mentioned by Hu Kiao in this region, the "wild dogs" (*ye kou*), I believe, represent *Canis procyonoides*.

[2] In d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* (La Haye, 1789), vol. IV, p. 292.

stags are brought in from these hunting-expeditions, and that there is no finer sight than the majesty, pride, and intrepidity of these animals when coming forward to fight,—a quality less conspicuous at other times.

G. Radde[1] reports that during the rutting season the hunters of the Sayan, Baikal, Yabloko, and Chingan mountains avail themselves of slightly curved horns made from fir or larch wood;[2] on the left bank of the Amur they use also the thick, hollow stems of the Kongola-Umbelle (*Calisace daurica*). At this time the stag is not timid, and approaches the hidden sportsman at a short distance. Old stags, however, do not easily accept this challenge to battle, and are said to discriminate well between the call of the hunters and their own kind. The Mongols avail themselves of a whistle (called *urum* or *urum-dal*) to attract the hart, or also imitate his cry.

According to the reminiscences of the Lapp, they received their domesticated reindeer from the wild animal. Johan Turi narrates in his autobiography (p. 64),

> In ancient times there were many wild reindeer, and there was no one who cared to guard reindeer. And the Lapp learned how to make the wild reindeer feel safe, so that they remained in his herd. When a wild reindeer has joined the herd, it is necessary to go cautiously around the herd and to allow it to walk ahead quite a distance, that the wild reindeer does not know that men are near. When the wild animal has visited the herd, it is familiar with it, and does not move away even when seeing men. Not all wild reindeer, however, are equally bold; some never become confiding, however long they may remain with the herd, but some it takes only little time to become accustomed to reindeer and man; neither does it run away unless it should drift into a troup of wild reindeer; in this case it follows the wild ones. The timid ones can never be tamed. The wild ones are much larger than the domesticated stock, and more glossy, as though having silver hair. A few of those which cannot be rendered tame were obtained in this manner, that a wild reindeer bull visited the herd in the rutting season. And when a wild reindeer is in the herd, the latter need not be guarded.

Johan Turi continues (p. 65),

> A Lapp sojourned in the vicinity of Koutokäino, and he would annually

[1] *Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien*, vol. I, p. 284. Radde has transcribed the call in notes. See also A. von Middendorff, *Sibirische Reise*, vol. IV, p. 1390.

[2] According to the *Ta Kin kuo chi* (ch. 39, p. 1; written in 1234 by Yü-wen Mou-chao), the Jurči made horns from birchbark, on which they produced sounds like *yu-yu*, in order to allure the harts (*mi-lu*), and then to shoot them with bow and arrow. *Yu-yu* is a Chinese term of endearment for a tame deer.

allow the reindeer to mate on a strip of land in the Elf. A wild reindeer always appeared during the mating-season for several years, and he did not kill him. Somebody, however, killed him at last. And the Lapp regarded this as a much more deplorable loss than if it had been one of his own bulls. Yet he received offspring from the wild reindeer. His deer became as glossy and slender as wild reindeer; it was quite extraordinary reindeer, and every one envied him for his reindeer, since they were much finer than others.

While this account proves nothing for the origin of the domestication, it shows clearly that the old stock was renewed and recruited from wild material, and that a great number of wild animals were gradually absorbed by the Lapp. In this respect also Ohthere's account given above (p. 95) is of fundamental value.

Aside from battues, the Samoyed have conceived a peculiar method of capturing wild reindeer. They train four or five tame, usually female, reindeer in such a manner that they walk together around the hunter in a certain order. One walks ahead, being held by a rope many fathoms long, the others going at the side of the hunter, who fastens to his girdle the ropes of all animals. The hunter, clad in reindeer-skins and bending low, steals along as near as he can to the wild herd, and picks out the best specimen for his shot. During the rutting season the Samoyed select a strong, ungelded buck, and look for a wild herd. When such is sighted, slings are laid around the antlers of the buck and attached by means of loose bast. Thus he is set on the wild herd. The wild stag, being aware of the alien rival, challenges him to a duel. During the brawl, his antlers become entangled in the slings of the tame pseudo-opponent, who will press his antlers toward the ground, and thus hold the adversary till the hunter arrives.[1]

The Ostyak have developed a similar method, or rather adopted it from the Samoyed. They fasten to their tame deer a strap between the upper tips of the antlers, and allow them to disperse near a herd of wild ones. These rush on the strangers, and, during the struggle, entangle their antlers in the straps prepared, being held till the arrival of their captors.[2] A similar method prevails

[1] P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs* (1776), vol. III, p. 91.

[2] A. Erman, *Reise um die Welt*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 653.

among the Amur tribes. In the autumn and the spring the native hunters indulge in the chase of wild reindeer by means of tame ones. The latter are let loose, but held with a long strap by the hunter, who cautiously follows behind in their trail. According to his will, the reindeer is made to pasture, to lie down, to stand up, and to turn round in this or that direction. The skilful hunter can thus slay many wild deer before his presence is suspected by the herd.[1] V. Jochelson[2] has described the same procedure for the inhabitants of the Kolyma district, where the decoy animal is known under the name *man'ščik* (probably from Russian *manit'*, "to lure"), in the language of the Lamut *ondadá*. Thus the practice is universal throughout Siberia. This method may illustrate how the decoys of Ohthere were used (p. 95), and how primitive man at all times understood how to add a fresh supply to his stock. What method he employed in detail for breaking his deer certainly escapes our knowledge. Some of his methods have been alluded to, as gelding and the imitation of processes gained by experience with other domestications.

An interesting problem is whether reindeer-driving is to be conceived as an imitation of the method of driving on dog-sledges. In regard to the latter we possess unfortunately little historical material. We have seen that dog-sleighs were known among the Kirgiz in the thirteenth century (p. 111) and in northwestern Siberia in 1499 (p. 97), and that they even extended to the west of the Ural in ancient times.[3] Driving with dogs is practised throughout Siberia. As is well known, the dog was originally the sole domestic animal kept by the so-called Palaeo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, Gilyak, Kamchadal, Yenisei-Ostyak,[4] Yukagir, Koryak, and Chuk-

[1] Grum-Gržimailo, *Opisanie Amurskoi Oblasti*, pp. 334, 335.

[2] *Očerk zv'äropromyšlennosti i torgovli m'äxami v Kolymskom okrug'ä* (Sketch of the Animal Industry and Fur Trade in the District of Kolyma), p. 44.

[3] These data escaped L. von Schrenck (*Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, vol. III, p. 488) in his discussion as to the time when the Russians became acquainted with dog-driving; he does not go beyond the seventeenth century. S. von Herberstein (*Notes upon Russia*, vol. II, p. 46) mentions large dogs used as beasts of burden, "which are very useful for this purpose, with which they convey baggage in carriages, in the same manner as will be hereafter described in speaking of the deer."—Compare above, p. 99.

[4] J. Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta* (Paris, 1823), p. 167, stated that the Yenisei-Ostyak

chi; and dog-sleighs represent the exclusive means of land transportation among these tribes. The same condition is found among the Eskimo, while the tame reindeer is unknown to them. From this wide geographical distribution covering the Old and New Worlds it necessarily follows that the employment of the dog for the sledge is far older in time than that of the reindeer for the same purpose. Although strictly mathematical proof cannot be put forward, the ethnographical facts well warrant the conclusion that the reindeer-sledge is based on the dog-sledge, and that reindeer-driving sprang into existence as a perfectly conscious and volitional imitation of driving with dogs. This being the case, it is clear that the reindeer people must have profited from the experiences of the dog-drivers, and reproduced many of their methods.[1]

subsist on fishing, hunting, and to a small extent reindeer-breeding. Recent authors say nothing about this point, but mention only fishing and hunting, with the dog as the exclusive domestic animal (S. Patkanov, *Essai d'une statistique et d'une géographie des peuples palae-asiatiques* (St.-Pétersbourg, 1903), p. 9). The peculiar language of this group has been studied by M. A. Castrén, *Versuch einer Yenisej-ostjakischen und kottischen Sprachlehre* (St.-Petersburg, 1858). G. I. Ramstedt "Ueber den Ursprung der sog. Jenisej-Ostjaken," *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne*, vol. XXIV, 1907, pp. 1–6, has made the singular attempt to compare the Yenisei-Ostyak numerals from two to ten with those of Tibetan and Chinese, and to proclaim on the basis of this result the Yenisei-Ostyak as a branch of the Indo-Chinese family. The alleged coincidences are by no means convincing, and either do not exist at all, or are mere resemblances on paper; not phonetical, however. It would hardly be worth while to call attention to this fantasy if the author were not a good philologist, whose contributions to Mongol phonology and dialects command respect.

[1] Two extraordinary statements in respect to reindeer-driving are made by the Jesuit Philippe Avril, *Travels into Divers Parts of Europe and Asia* (London, 1693), p. 172, English translation of his *Voyage en divers états d'Europe et d'Asie* (Utrecht, 1673, and Paris, 1692). "To make the reine-deer go more swift, they tie a great dog behind, that scaring the poor beast with his barking, sets her a running with that speed, as to draw her burthen no less then forty leagues a day." "But that which is more wonderful as to these sort of sledds, they are also driven along by the wind sometimes over the land cover'd with snow, sometimes over the ice of frozen rivers, as our vessels, that sail upon the sea. For in regard the country beyond Siberia is open and extreamly level as far as Mount Caucasus, the people who inhabit it making use of this advantage to spare their beasts, have so order'd their sledds, as either to be drawn along by the reine-deer, or else to carry sails, when the wind favours 'em." I cannot find any confirmation of this dog contrivance and of sail sledges in any other source. Avril was commissioned by the then King of France to discover a new way by land into China, left Marseilles in 1664, reached Moscow, where he

The advantages of reindeer over dog keeping are obvious. The reindeer feeds itself, the dog must be fed. In traveling, food must be carried for the dogs. The maintenance of dogs develops into a burdensome task. In case of emergency the reindeer will furnish food to his master.

> As soon as the wind blows a little, the dog cannot travel; especially is this so if the wind happens to be in the face. The deer does not mind the wind in the least, from whatever direction it comes; it rather enjoys travelling against the wind. It costs nothing for feed; it faces all weather, and makes its way where the driver can hardly walk without snowshoes. It goes uphill and downhill alike. Trail or no trail, it will haul its two hundred pounds or more day after day, even week after week.[1]

It is not to the point that, as asserted by G. Mortillet[2] after K. Vogt, reindeer-breeding is impossible without the use of the watch-dog. In fact, only the western group of reindeer-tribes—Lapp, Wogul, Ostyak, and Samoyed—have their herds managed by dogs; while neither the Tungus nor the Koryak and Chukchi have their reindeer chaperoned by dogs; on the contrary, they keep these away from the herds.[3] With me it is not an open question, as stated by Bogoras, whether reindeer-breeding was begun with dogs or without them. The dog, in my estimation at least, had nothing to do with the incipient process. He is merely an incidental accessory, being transferred from his office previously held in other herds to the guarding of reindeer long after the latter's domestication was completed.

As regards the employment of the reindeer for riding purposes, there can be no doubt that it existed at least as early as the thirteenth century in the Baikal region (p. 107). The only moot point

was compelled to return, and traveled by way of Warsaw to Constantinople, reaching Toulon in 1670. The information supplied by him on Siberia was gathered in Russia, for the most part from oral accounts. In his biography (*Biographie universelle, Supplément*, vol. LVI, p. 605) it is said, " Ce qu'il dit sur l'histoire naturelle montre que ses connaissances en ce genre n'étaient pas très étendues." Nevertheless his book is full of interest and teems with curious information (see, for instance, *T'oung Pao* (1916), p. 363).

[1] *Fourteenth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska* (Washington, 1905), p. 105.

[2] *La Préhistorique*, p. 439.

[3] Bogoras, *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. VII, p. 71.

is whether this practice is primarily due to the southern Samoyed or to Tungusians.[1] Since the northern Samoyed do not ride the reindeer, it would seem that the claim of the Tungusians merits preference; but this conclusion would be fallacious. The northern Samoyed are mentioned as early as 1096 in the Russian chronicle of Nestor, and it is therefore conceivable that the northward migration of this stock was an accomplished fact at a time when the reindeer was not yet trained to the saddle in their southern home; or, in other words, that the riding of the reindeer in the Baikal region came into existence after the separation of the Samoyed tribes, and for this reason never reached the northern group. Thus the question as to the particular people which first mounted the reindeer must remain undecided; assuredly it was a tribe that had gained some experience with horses. It is said that it takes the reindeer only a very short time to become accustomed to the saddle.[2]

Although truly in a state of domestication, it can by no means be asserted that the reindeer has been brought fully under the control of man. On the contrary, the reindeer controls man to a much higher degree than man has sway over the animal, and in fact determines his whole manner of life. In this respect reindeer-keeping differs radically from cattle or horse breeding. Cattle and horse have been subordinated to human will so completely that they cannot subsist without being provided by man with fodder and shelter. They share man's habitation, and stable-feeding has made them the close associates and friends of his home. To the reindeer man does not furnish lodging and board. It remains independent, and pursues its natural instincts along the question of nutrition; it is not sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather by house or tent, but spends the night like its wild congener. In short, it makes and lives its own life, only to answer its master's call when occasion for labor arises. It performs its duties willingly

[1] N. V. Latkin, *Yeniseiskaya Guberniya*, p. 169, includes also the Dolgan and Yakut among the reindeer-riders. If this is the case, it is certainly due to Tungusian influence. An example of reindeer-riding Yakut is found in the autobiography of the Yakut Uvarovski (O. Böhtlingk, *Sprache der Jakuten*, pp. 26, 49).

[2] Latkin, *l. c.*

and submissively; but as soon as the short working-hours are past, it demands its freedom, and must be released for grazing and browsing: it cannot be held in socage indefinitely. The reindeer's life is bound to a well-defined geographical area with specific floristic characteristics, and it cannot be removed to other quarters without its existence becoming endangered. Individuals taken into our zoölogical parks, even if provided with moss, do not thrive long, and are usually doomed after a few years; while transplantations of herds into Switzerland, for instance, have proved failures. The reindeer cannot live in captivity, it cannot be acclimated to uncongenial zones, and will never approach that state of true domesticity attained in cattle and horse. If domestication be taken in the true sense of the word, "habituation to home-life," the reindeer has certainly not reached it, quite in conformity with its master.

In view of the reindeer's economic independence, the interesting question arises: What forces bind the animal to man? If it receives from him neither food nor shelter, by what factors is it induced to maintain such a seemingly unprofitable association? Indeed, the reindeer's position is singular. Examining other domestic breeds, we plainly recognize the foundation of their social contract with man, which is based on an unwritten law of reciprocity, that on both sides has developed into the quality of faithfulness. Dog, cat, and swine have reserved to themselves a certain degree of independence in the choice of their diet, and if forsaken by man, or even while under his care, may hunt for a meal on their own initiative; nevertheless they will always appreciate more what is offered them by man. Reindeer are fond of salt and sugar, and a bit of these articles may accelerate their run; but they are so rarely given to them, that this could hardly be thought of as an inducement for them to keep up companionship with man.[1] It may be, then, that it believes in man as a superior being, that it trusts in his power and strength, and looks up to him as his guardian from perils threatening from wild animals, chiefly its arch-enemy

[1] Hahn, *Haustiere*, pp. 558–559, regards the animal's craving for salt, satisfied by human urine, as the strongest bond that binds it to the service of man,—doubtless an exaggeration.

the wolf. But even this argument, weighty as it may be, does not seem to me sufficient to explain the whole scale of the reindeer's relation to man. It seems to me that psychic qualities both in the animal and in man must be made responsible for the final result. There is man's aesthetic pleasure in animals, and the entire deer family is attractive to every human soul. This sympathy is doubtless reciprocated by the reindeer. Above all, there is the social instinct developed both in deer and man, and in the loneliness of the arctic regions these social bonds are doubtless intensified. The deer is a highly social creature, impressing its friendship on man. It is of gentle disposition, and is loved by children. Those of the Tungus are fond of decorating their riding-deer with ribbons to which are sewed glass beads or buttons.[1]

Not much positive information is available in regard to feral reindeer. The Lapp, Johan Turi, in his fascinating autobiography (p. 40), speaks of the savage character of the bulls during the rutting season, when they even pounce on men, and observes that the " bulls of the wilderness " (that is, animals which have segregated from the herd and lived long in the wilderness without man's care) particularly are prone to attack people.

In accordance with the history of the domestication, the tending of the herd, and the care of everything connected with it, are everywhere the business of man. Among the Chukchi, labor is divided between man and wife in this manner: that all domestic affairs, inclusive of preparation of hides, yarn, and clothing, fall to the lot of woman; while man looks after the herd, harnesses or unharnesses the deer, and, if necessary, slaughters it. This is man's sole business, but his time is fully occupied with it.[2]

To dilate on the effects of reindeer-breeding is beyond the scope of this article. This would mean to set forth in detail the economic features of the culture of the tribes in question, which has been done in a number of excellent monographs. I should like to emphasize merely a single point; and that is, that in my estimation the reindeer-breeders have developed higher psychic qualities

[1] Pekarski and Tsv'ätkov, *Očerki byta Priayanskix Tungusov*, p. 39.

[2] G. Maydell, *Reisen und Forschungen im Jakutskischen Gebiet Ostribiriens*, pt. 1, pp. 186–187.

than the Palaeo-Asiatic dog-breeders, owing to the fact that the latter, as agreed upon by all observers, have no inward relations to their dogs, and their savage dogs lack all superior traits of the civilized dog, while there is mutual affection between man and reindeer. I do not believe in generalizations nor in comparisons, still less in dogmas of racial superiority and inferiority or of good and evil, and I am very far from extolling the reindeer tribes at the expense of the dog-breeders. Of these the Gilyak and Ainu are known to me from personal experience, also the Olča and Golde on the Amur, whose culture is partially based on the maintenance of dogs. I gained a deep respect and sympathy for these people, for their manliness and good nature, their hospitality, and their intellect. I felt more at home, however, with the reindeer-breeding Tungusians, who are more alert, open-minded, straightforward, and psychically more developed, and I found that A. von Middendorff was perfectly right in styling them the aristocracy of Siberia. There can be no doubt that constant intercourse with an animal as noble, civil, and civilized as the reindeer has a psychical value, and exerts a beneficial and ennobling influence on the hearts of the people. Let me quote the experience of a Finnish author. Among the Lapp, songs are particularly cultivated by the reindeer-breeders; and in the opinion of Armas Launis,[1] who has published a comprehensive collection of such songs with their musical notations, they may be regarded as the originators of the songs which receive their natural explanation from the life of the herder. At home he is reserved and taciturn, and he scarcely sings otherwise than during his sojourn on the tundra, where he tends his herd. Confronted with the wide panorama of lakes and the blue mountains bordering the horizon, he will remember a good friend or brood evil against an enemy. The reminiscence assumes shape in words and tones, and a tune thus arises on the subject of his thought. While he looks over his herd with a feeling of content, he gives vent to his sentiments, and, muttering the words "*čābba ællo čābba ællo*" (handsome herd, handsome herd), he will finally compose a melody in praise of his flock.

[1] "Lappische Juoigos-Melodien," *Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne* (Helsingfors, 1908), vol. XXVI.

Hahn[1] says that the economic value of the reindeer has been overstated, as would follow from the fact that it is restricted everywhere to the aborigines; while Europeans did not take to its breeding, even there, where the animal would be important. Again he thinks that " the reindeer is not sufficient to man of European descent and culture, or that the latter has not the patience required for it; in this point he is surpassed by the ' savage.' " But Ohthere, the Norseman, was a European (p. 94). The Russians, when advancing and settling in northern regions, where horses do not thrive, easily took to reindeer-breeding. P. S. Pallas[2] reported in 1772, in regard to the district of Obdorsk, that horses imported there did not live a year, and that the reindeer-herds,—which, despite numerous diseases and wild animals, increase rapidly—form a not unimportant wealth both of the Russian and Pagan inhabitants of those northern countries.[3]

Erroneous also is Hahn's statement that

> the reindeer has never followed the European, as particularly shown by the introduction in 1770 into Iceland of reindeer which were supposed to give new domestic animals to that poor country.

What was introduced into Iceland in 1771 and 1777 (not in 1770) were not domestic, but wild reindeer from Norway, which were gradually shot, and are now almost exterminated.[4]

The reindeer introduced into Alaska at the end of the last century are as useful to the whites as to the Eskimo. Says Dr.

[1] *Haustiere*, pp. 264, 267.

[2] *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, vol. III, p. 23.

[3] The Russian nomenclature relating to the reindeer, chiefly in the dialects of northern Russia, is borrowed from Finno-Ugrian languages: thus *pyžik* (young reindeer, fawn), that already occurs in Old Russian, from Syryän *pež*, Wotyak *pužey*, Wogul *pežka*, Ostyak *peži; vážatka* or *váženka* (doe) from Syryän *važenka*, Lapp *važ, važa;* to the same root belong in the dialect of Archangel *vačegat'* (to tend a reindeer-herd), *vačuga* (reindeer relais), *vačužn'a* (reindeer-herd); *hora* (reindeer-bull) from Samoyed *hora*, Syryän *kora; girvas* (male reindeer) from Finnish *hirvas; gigna, higna* (leash in the reindeer-harness) from Finnish *hihna; loima* (a herd of reindeer) from Finnish *lauma*, etc. (compare R. Meckelein, *Die finnisch-ugrischen Elemente im Russischen*, p. 20).

[4] See the interesting account of A. Gebhardt (after Th. Thoroddsen), " Die Rentiere auf Island," *Globus*, vol. 86 (1904), pp. 261–263.

Jackson, the father of this new economic movement, on this point:[1]

The industrial pursuit which nature has mapped out for the native population of arctic and subarctic Alaska is the breeding and herding of reindeer and the use of the deer as a means of transportation and intercommunication. During the past season the influx of miners into the Yukon region has made a very urgent call for reindeer for freighting-purposes. In the original plan for the purchase and distribution of reindeer, reference was mainly had to securing a new food-supply for the famishing Eskimo; but it is now found that the reindeer are as essential to the white men as to the Eskimo. The wonderful placer mines of the Yukon region are situated from 25 to 100 miles from the great Yukon River. The provisions brought from the south and landed upon the banks of the river are with great difficulty transported to the mines. So great was the extremity last winter, that mongrel Indian dogs cost $100 to $200 each for transportation purposes, and the freight charges from the river to the mines, 30 miles, ranged from 15 to 20 cents per pound. The difficulty experienced in providing the miners with the necessaries of life has demonstrated the necessity of reindeer-transportation, and that the development of the large mining interests of that region will be dependent upon the more rapid introduction of reindeer for freighting. There are no roads in Alaska, and off of the rivers no transportation facilities to any great extent. In the limited traveling of the past, dogs have been used for that purpose; but dog-teams are slow, and must be burdened with the food for their own maintenance. On the other hand, trained reindeer make in a day two or three times the distance covered by a dog-team, and at the end of the day can be turned loose to gather their support from the moss, which is always accessible to them.

On the other hand, it is stated,

The ordinary white man is unwilling to undergo the drudgery of herding in that rigorous climate, and unwilling to work for the small compensation that is paid for such services. He can do better. . . . With the increase of domestic reindeer in Alaska, it will become possible for white men to own large herds; but the men that will do the herding and teaming will always be Eskimo and Lapp.[2]

Hahn's gloomy prophesy of the ultimate extinction of the reindeer jointly with the "miserable" tribes of the Ostyak, Wogul, and Samoyed, has happily not been fulfilled. He who is but superficially posted on the subject knows that the Samoyed are not a dying people, but vigorously spread and thrive.[3] So does

[1] *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1895–96* (Washington, 1897), vol. II, pt. 2, p. 1454.

[2] *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903*, vol. II, p. 2375.

[3] See, for instance, W. Crahmer in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1913), p. 543.

the reindeer. It is protected by the Russian government, and the study of the improvement of the economy has been entrusted to special commissions. The reindeer is gaining ground, and will claim more importance and attention in the future. It has conquered Alaska and parts of Canada. The successful introduction of domestic reindeer into Alaska has led to their introduction into Newfoundland. Dr. Grenfell, who in 1892 organized a medical mission among the fishermen off the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador, on reading the U. S. reindeer reports, became convinced that he had to have reindeer for his winter trips, and January 7, 1908, landed safely three hundred head at the village of Cremeliere, two miles from St. Anthony, on the northern coast of Newfoundland.[1]

The ethnologist will watch with interest the gradual transformation of the Alaskan Eskimo into reindeer-breeders.[2] History repeats itself: it is the same process that reshaped the life of the Chukchi and Koryak. The introduction in 1890 of reindeer into Alaska was inspired by a desire to provide a new and more permanent food-supply for the half-famishing Eskimo. Up to 1902 there were sixty individual holders of domestic reindeer in Alaska, forty-four of these being Eskimo, the majority of whom had served a five-years' apprenticeship and gained a competent knowledge of the management and care of reindeer. In 1903 sixty-eight Eskimo and one Indian owned 2,841 deer. From the 1,280 Siberian reindeer imported between 1892 and 1903, and from their natural increase, 7,983 fawns have been born in Alaska.

The Eskimo has always been skilful in driving dogs, and now, under instruction, is proving equally skilful in driving reindeer, and upon various occasions, when the opportunity has offered, has invariably demonstrated his ability to successfully transport with reindeer mails, freight, and passengers between mining-camps.[3]

[1] *Sixteenth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska* (Washington, 1908), p. 42.

[2] Compare E. W. Hawkes, "Transforming the Eskimo into a Herder," *Anthropos*, vol. VIII (1913), pp. 359–362.

[3] From Dr. S. Jackson's report, in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903* (Washington, 1905), vol. II, p. 2374.

In view of the opportunities and facilities granted in Alaska, it is a matter of surprise that biologists have not yet seen fit to take up the study of breeding problems in connection with the reindeer, either for theoretical purposes or with a view to improving the races. We are anxious to know, for instance, why the Tungus reindeer is larger and sturdier than that of Lapland, and why most of the wild deer are larger than the domesticated. As to the question of color variation in the domestic stocks we have merely vague descriptions of laymen, and the differentiations of the various stocks have not yet been determined scientifically. Likewise the following observation would offer a problem to the biologist.

No deterioration in the herds on account of inbreeding has been noted. On the contrary, the chief of the Alaska division maintains that the reindeer now in Alaska are larger animals than those which comprised the original stock imported from Siberia, that Alaska affords a better range than Siberia, and that the climate is better adapted to the reindeer industry. The herds in Alaska average more than seven hundred reindeer each, so that the danger of inbreeding cannot be serious. The introduction of wild caribou into some of the herds has increased the size of the reindeer in those herds.[1]

[1] "Report on the Work of the Bureau of Education for the Natives of Alaska, 1913–14," p. 10 (1915), *Bulletin*, No. 48.

NOTES ON ZUÑI

PART I

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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NOTES ON ZUÑI[1]

PART I

BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

REGISTER OF CEREMONIES FROM DECEMBER 23, 1915, TO DECEMBER 5, 1916

THE following register of ceremonial events at Zuñi was kept by Margaret A. Lewis, a Cherokee who went from Oklahoma to Zuñi in 1899 as a school-teacher in the Indian service. In 1901 she married Lewis (Lusteti), a Zuñi and a member of one of the distinguished families of the pueblo. From 1912 to 1917 he held the office of *tapup* (governor).

Since receiving the register from Mrs. Lewis she and I have gone over it together, adding a glossary. There may be references in the register to the more esoteric parts of the ceremonial life, but as a whole the register should be taken as a record merely of the ceremonies as known to all the people.

December 23, 1915	All members of fraternities (*tikyilona*)(1) go into their ceremonial houses for a four-day retreat. They cut feather-sticks (*telikinawe*)(2) or have them cut for the winter solstice ceremonial (*itiwonna*).(3)
December 24	All persons (*ahoi templa*) cut feather-sticks (*ławaptishle: ławe*, sticks, *aptishle*, cut) or have them cut.
December 25	All plant their feather-sticks. The sacred (*teshkwi*)(4) period begins.

[1] To any student of the Pueblo Indian the fragmentary nature of these notes will be evident; but to none can the evidence be as painful as to the writer. Shall one publish as one learns or shall one wait until one learns more—that is always the question for the ethnographer and for the ethnographer of the intricate and baffling life of the Southwest the question is peculiarly significant. Because I find myself so often wishing that others had answered the question as they did not, I hazard these notes on my way.

December 29 — *wema upa tewani* "animals in until tomorrow." (*wema*, animals; *upa*, in; *tewani*, tomorrow), an all-night ceremonial in the ceremonial houses of the fraternities to cure the sick and bewitched.(5) Every male cuts feather-sticks.

December 30 — Every male and every fraternity member plants feather-sticks to all the animals and to the *koko*.(6)

January 4 — The corn maidens (*atowa awashtoki*)(7) and *molawia anona*(8) are chosen. The *newekwe* fraternity stay all night in their ceremonial house awaiting the choice of *molawia anona*. Personators of *sayatasha*(9) and of his associates, *hututu*(10) and the two *yamuhakta*,(11) and the personator of *koyemshi awan tachu*(12) are chosen by the *ashiwanni* of all the directions(13).

pau'tiwa(14) comes in.

shitsukia(15) and *kwelele*(16) come in. They stay all night in *heiwa kiwitsine*.

January 5 — Between 3 a.m. and 4 a.m. *shitsukia* and *kwelele* go around town. Close of the *teshkwi*. *cha'kwena okya*(17) goes around town with *salymobia*.(18) The women make bread. The personators of *kiaklo*,[1] of *koyemshi awan tachu*, of *sayatasha*, *hututu* and the two *yamuhakta*, and *tsupala ilona*,(19) the appointor of *shulawitsi*, are notified of their selection, notified by the *apilashiwanni*.(20) The personator of *koyemshi awan tachu* is a member of the *showe'kwe* fraternity. No one took the feather-sticks of the *koyemshi*.(21)

From the top of *heiwa kiwitsine*, *shitsukia* and *kwelele* throw corn down to the people. *pau'tiwa* goes about town and then leaves

[1] See p. 155.

by *ichanantekiapoi* (Grease hill, a quarter of a mile or so south of the town).

January 6 *łelele*[22] together with *salymobia* go around town.

January 7 *łelele* and *salymobia* go around town.

January 8 *łelele* and *salymobia* go around town.

January 9 *santu weachona'we* (saint's crier) announces from house-top that *santu chalia* (saint's childbed)[23] will be held in four days.

January 11 *łewekwe*[24] fraternity plant their feather-sticks and go into retreat in their ceremonial house.

January 15 Dance of *łewekwe* fraternity and *matke łanna* fraternity.[25] Each group comes out to dance four times. In between is danced the *ikwinnikwe*.[26] *muâiye*[27] ceremonial. All dancers are in the ceremonial house of the *łewekwe* all night.[28]

January 19 *matke tsanna* fraternity go into four days' retreat in their ceremonial house for an initiation.[29]

January 20 *atoshle*[30] couple come out.
halo'kwe fraternity go into retreat for an initiation.

January 21 *atoshle* couple come out. Enter several houses.

January 23 *natashku*[31] comes out. Gets lots of food.
Initiation into *matke tsanna* fraternity.

January 24 Initiation into *halo'kwe* fraternity.

January 29 *hilili*[32] by *muhewa kiwitsine*. Koyatsilu, a *shiwanni*, bids them dance tomorrow.[33]

January 30 *hilili*. Masewe, *mosona* of *shuma'kwe* fraternity, bids them dance tomorrow.

January 31 *hilili*. Hompikia, a *piłashiwanni*, bids them dance tomorrow.

February 1 *hilili*. Okash, *shiwanni* of the South, bids them dance tomorrow.

February 2 *hililí*. Bidden to dance tomorrow.

February 3 *hililí*. Naleshi, a *shiwanni*, bids them dance tomorrow.

February 4 *hililí*. The dancers run away, scattering.
kosawia[34] of the *kokokshi*[35] by *hekiapawa kiwitsine*.

February 8 *koyupchonakya*[36] (*koko* make come out). *upikyaupona*[37] (*kokokshi*) by *hekiapawa kiwitsine*.

February 11 *kosawia* by *uptsanna kiwitsine*.

February 13 *łewekwe* fraternity plant their feather-sticks, and go into retreat in their ceremonial house.

February 15 *koyupchonakya*. *kokokshi* by *uptsanna kiwitsine*.
Burlesque of the *apachu* (Navajo)[38] dance by *chupawa kiwitsine*.

February 17 Dance of *łewekwe* fraternity and *matke łanna* fraternity.

February 18 Owilisio, *teniente tsanna*[39] called out by order of the *tapup* an assembly of all the people in *tehwita łanna* (plaza big) to hear talk on new *tenientes*.
kosawia by *ohewa kiwitsine*.

February 19 *shalako* personators plant.[40]

February 22 *koyupchonakya*. *kokokshi* by *ohewa kiwitsine*.
amuki (Hopi)[41] dance by *chupawa kiwitsine*.
hililí by *heiwa kiwitsine*. *newekwe*[42] parts played by *uptsanna kiwitsine* and *hekiapawa kiwitsine*.

February 23 *hililí* and *amuki* by turns. Hompikia, *piłashiwanni*, bids them dance tomorrow.

February 24 *hililí* and *amuki*.
kosawia by *muhewa kiwitsine*.

February 29 *koyupchonakya kokokshi* by *muhewa kiwitsine*.
pesikaipa[43] by *ohewa kiwitsine*.
kałekwe[44] by *uptsanna kiwitsine*.
hililí burlesque.

March 2 *upikyaupona* by *hekiapawa kiwitsine.*[45] Owilisio bids them dance tomorrow.

March 3 *upikyaupona.* Because of the death of the father of one of the dancers they will not dance tomorrow. The deceased was not a member of *hekiapawa kiwitsine.*

kosawia by *chupawa kiwitsine.*

March 7 *koyupchonakya. kokokshi* by *chupawa kiwitsine.*

wilutsu'kwe (Apache) dance by *heiwa kiwitsine.*

March 8 *kosawia* by *heiwa kiwitsine.*

March 9 *kiaklo*[46] comes in. The river is waist high, still, as *kiaklo* is unwilling to cross by the bridge, the *koyemshi* have to carry him through the water.

kiaklo visits first *chupawa kiwitsine,* then *muhewa* and on to *ohewa, uptsanna, heiwa, hekiapawa.*

While *kiaklo* is at *hekiapawa* a *koyemshi* falls off the roof and is badly hurt.

March 10 The personators of the *salymobia* are appointed.[47] All the personators plant feather-sticks and go into an eight-day retreat in their respective *kiwitsine.*

kiaklo goes away.

March 11 *salymobia* personators go out after wood, leaving at sunrise and returning after sunset.[48]

koyupchonakya. upikyaupona by *heiwa kiwitsine.*

watempla[49] by *ohewa kiwitsine.*

apachu by *uptsanna kiwitsine.*

March 14 The *salymobia* personators and *wowe,* the *tsiytsikya*[50] *wole* and the *tsiytsikya* and *koyemshi* personators plant feather-sticks.

The *tsiytsikya* personator and the *koyemshi*

		personators go around and get the names of the children to be initiated, each taking a a few names to remember.
March	17	*kiaklo* comes in and enters each *kiwitsine*. At the bellowing of *koluwisi*[51] he runs away to the hills. *koluwisi* comes in and goes into *hekiapawa kiwitsine*. The *salymobia* dance in their respective *kiwitsine* all night.
March	18	*hashiate*.[52] *salymobia kluptsin* (yellow) of *heiwa kiwitsine* visits shrine on western edge of town. All *salymobia* go to *heiwa. kiwitsine* to drink in order to qualify themselves to whip. They whip people all day.[53] *annahokwe* throw things off the house-tops;[54] *shulawitsi* burns baskets. They do not get through[55] so they will whip the children (initiates into *kotikili*) tomorrow.
March	19	They finish throwing things off the house-tops. *salymobia* go on whipping people. In *tsiaa* plaza the children are whipped. The children go into *chupawa kiwitsine* and *ohewa kiwitsine*[56] and *koluwisi* vomits the water and seed corn for the children to plant. *shalako* personators plant.
March	20	Meat becomes taboo to the initiates for four days, and during that period they wear the downy eagle feather in their hair.
March	24	The initiates and their ceremonial parents exchange bowls of stew. The initiates go to *kushilowa* (see p. 211) to put their hair feathers on a bush. They are released from the *teshkwi*.
March	31	*wilutsu'kwe* by *heiwa kiwitsine*, *koyemshi* in attendance.[57]

April 1 *wilutsu'kwe* by *heiwa kiwitsine.*

April 2 *wilutsu'kwe* by *heiwa kiwitsine.*
watempla by *ohewa*, *newekwe* in attendance.

April 3 *wilutsu'kwe* by *heiwa kiwitsine.*
watempla by *ohewa kiwitsine.*

April 4 *watempla* by *ohewa kiwitsine.* This is the last dance until *yatokia techi* (sun gets there, *i. e.*, the summer solstice).

April 17 *shalako* personators plant.

May 17 *shalako* personators plant.

May 23 The *kopekwĭn* and the *wowe* of the *salymobia* go around and appoint personators for the *salymobia*, the *sayaŀian* and the *cha'kwena*[58] tomorrow in the rabbit hunt and men to take care of the *cha'kwena* in her confinement.

May 24 Ceremonial rabbit hunt.[59]
The *chak'wena* does not lie in according to custom in *hekiapawa kiwitsine* because next door a man is ill. She lies in in *chupawa kiwitsine.* Early in the evening, *cha'kwena* and *salymobia an suwe* go around the town. *salymobia* dance a few hours in the ceremonial house of *saniakiakwe* fraternity.

May 25 In the evening *cha'kwena* and *salymobia an papa* go around the town. *salymobia* dance in house of *saniakiakwe* fraternity.

May 26 In the evening *cha'kwena* and *salymobia an suwe* go around the town. *salymobia* dance in house of *saniakiakwe* fraternity.

May 27 In the evening *cha'kwena* and *salymobia an papa* go around the town. *salymobia* dance in house of *saniakiakwe* fraternity.

May 28 *cha'kwena*, *cha'kwena wole*, *komosona*, *kopekwĭn*, *sayaŀian*, *salymobia*, two *kopiŀashiwanni* all go during the day from house to house to receive offerings of meat or bread.[60] As no

house may be left unvisited they do not complete the rounds and will continue tomorrow. The *salymobia* dance in house of *saniakiakwe* fraternity.

May 29 Rounds of houses completed. All go along the west road and deposit their feather-sticks at *akwia kaĭpa*,[61] the masked personages unmasking.
Rabbit hunt without the gods.[62]

June 15 *shalako* personators plant.

June 17 All fraternity male members cut feather-sticks to plant for the summer solstice.[63]

June 19 Every one cuts feather-sticks or has them cut.

June 20 Every one plants feather-sticks for summer solstice. The *akiakwemosi* go into a four-day retreat for rain.

June 23 The *kokokshi* and *shulawitsi*[64] come in from *toseluna tkiana*, a spring at Ojo Caliente.[65] Dancing all night in *uptsanna kiwitsine*,[66] the *newekwe* fraternity singing.[67] The *koyemshi* are in the house of the *kopekwĭn*.

June 24 *kokokshi* dance by *uptsanna kiwitsine*. *newekwe* sing in house of the *kopekwĭn*.

July 5 *kokokshi* by *heiwa kiwitsine*.

July 14 *shalako* personators plant.

July 23 *kokokshi* by *chupawa kiwitsine*.

July 28 *koyemshi awan tachu* dies. One of the *koyemshi* takes the place, his place taken by the *koyemshi wole*. A man named Appe becomes *wole*.

August 6 *kokokshi* by *muhewa kiwitsine*.

August 17 *kokokshi*[68] (*upikyaupona*) by *hekiapawa kiwitsine*. Certain *ashiwanni* go into retreat for rain[69] in the ceremonial house of the *shuma'kwe* fraternity.[70]

August 18 *kokokshi* repeated.

August 19 *kokokshi* repeated.

August 20 *kokokshi* repeated.

August 21 *kokokshi* repeated.
ashiwanni come out of retreat. *towakwe* (corn clan) *ashiwanni* plant feather-sticks.

August 22 *kokokshi* repeated.
towakwe ashiwanni go into retreat.

August 26 *towakwe ashiwanni* come out of retreat.
Other *ashiwanni* go into retreat.

August 30 Aforesaid *ashiwanni* come out of retreat, other *ashiwanni* going into retreat.

September 1 *watempla*[71] dance by *ohewa kiwitsine.*

September 2 *watempla* repeated.
Aforesaid *ashiwanni* go out of retreat.

September 3 *watempla* repeated.

September 4 *watempla* repeated.

September 5 *watempla* repeated. "Last dance of the season."

September 11 Solomon who was to have the *sayatasha-shulawitsi* party in his house [at *shalako*] dies, so now they have no "father," for Solomon was the only man in the house.

September 12 The *shalako* personators plant feather-sticks at *opompia.*

October 12 *shalako* personators plant feather-sticks at *a͡iayaka koha͡iito.*[72]

October 17 *ahoppa awan tewa* (the dead their day).[73]

October 22 The *shalako* personators plant feather-sticks at *banita ima.*

November 1 The *shalako* personators plant feather-sticks at *aneława.*

November 11 The *shalako* personators plant feather-sticks at *suskanashokta.*

November 21 The *shalako* personators plant feather-sticks at *akohannatinawa.*
koyemshi personators come in and go into their eight-day retreat.[74]

November 25 — *sayatasha-shulawitsi* personators come in and go into retreat.

November 29 — In the morning all the men cut feather-sticks.
The *sayatasha-shulawitsi* party comes in and plant feather-sticks.
The *shalako* come in.
Navajo dance by *heiwa kiwitsine.*

November 30 — *shalako* leave. *koyemshi halililiku.*[1] Navajo dance in the afternoon.
In the evening *muluktakya* dance by *chupawa kiwitsine.*

December 1 — *toicha'kwena* dance by *heiwa kiwitsine.*
watempla dance by *ohewa kiwitsine.*
muluktakya dance by *chupawa kiwitsine.*
cha'kwena(75) dance by *uptsanna kiwitsine.*
hemishikwe and *mahedinasha* dances were not presented by *muhewa kiwitsine* and *hekiapawa kiwitsine.*

December 3 — The dances repeated.

December 4 — The dances repeated, part of *heiwa kwitsine* giving the *wilutsu'kwe.*

December 5 — *koanne.*(76)
molawia.(77)

GLOSSARY

(1) There are twelve fraternities or, if you count in the *kotikili* (god) fraternity, the dubious *showekwe* (reed people) and the *anniset* (struck-by-lightning),[2] fifteen. They are the *shiwanna'kwe, newekwe, matke łannakwe* (fire big people), *matke tsannakwe* (fire little people), *pechetsilo'kwe* (bedbug people), *koshikwe* (cactus people), *łewe'kwe* (wood or plank people), *halo'kwe* (ant people. They include the *achiakwe*, knife people), *saniakiakwe* (hunter also called *suskikwe*, coyote people), *uhuhukwe* (the meaning of this term is today obscure), *chikialikwe* (rattlesnake people), *shuma'kwe.*

[1] Mountain sheep. See p. 202.

[2] The Zuñi do not consider this a regular fraternity. Persons who have been struck by lightning are supposed to have the power to set bones or to cure sprains.

The *kotikili* apart, the fraternities are recruited through sickness or nightmare, or in the case of the *newekwe* and the *łewe'kwe*, through accidental contact with a fraternity member observing *teshkwi*.[1] The patient who is cured by the medicineman of a fraternity is "given" to that fraternity (unless he or she is "given" to the household of the medicineman).[2] The initiation, however, may not take place for years after the dedication.[3]

Membership in a fraternity is for life, but there appears to be, nowadays at any rate, a considerable amount of dropping out. To preserve your membership in a fraternity the minimum requirement is participation in the four-day retreat at *itiwonna*. You may leave one fraternity to join another. Were you to propose yourself as member of a fraternity, it is said, however, "something might happen," *i. e.*, some mishap or misfortune. A person may belong to more than one fraternity.

Every fraternity has a head or director (*tikya mosona* or *mosi*), *pekwĭn*, deputy, *akwi mosi*, medicine director, *pilashiwanni*, bow priest. In ceremonials or dances choirs are supplied from the fraternities, and a member of the chosen fraternity stands at the head of the line of dancers. He "herds the sheep." As the dancers file in or out of the plaza he sprinkles in front the sacred meal from the bowl he carries. The meal he carries in his left hand and in his right his *mili*, the feather wrapped ear of corn every initiate into a fraternity receives.

Initiation into the *kotikili*[4] is incumbent upon all males. There are at present three women members.[5] They were not initiated

[1] See p. 164. According to Kroeber, *newekwe* recruiting is also through trespass. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XVIII, pt. II (1917), p. 157.

[2] When the medicineman happens to be a member of the household of the patient there is no dedication. For example, Lutseti as a boy was treated by his father, Tsatiselu, for small pox, but Lutseti was not "given" to the *newekwe*, Tsatiselu's fraternity. *Cf.* Friere-Marecco, B. "Tewa Terms from the Pueblo of Hano, Arizona," *American Anthropologiist* (N.S.), vol. 16 (1914), pp. 272, 278.

[3] See pp. 232, 246.

[4] According to Kroeber, this term refers to the members; *kotikkyane* is the term for the organization. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 162, n. 3.

[5] They are Nancy, a much married, but now unmarried woman about forty-five who was initiated about nine years ago, the wife of Owilisio, *teniente tsanna*, and the

in childhood. The initiation of boys into the *kotikili* takes place every four years. See pages 155–156 for its occurrence this year. The *kotikili* is incorporated, so to speak, in the six *kiwitsiwe* (*kiva* or *estufa*), *heiwa*, *hekiapawa*, *chupawa*, *muhewa*, *ohewa*, *uptsanna*. Initiated into the *kotikili* a boy is automatically initiated into one of these six *kiwitsiwe*. The husband of a woman present at his birth becomes his sponsor or ceremonial father, he joining the *kiwitsine* his ceremonial father belongs to.

The *kotikili* has, like any other fraternity, four officers, the *komosona* and his *kopiłashiwanni*, the *kopekwĭn* and his *kopiłashiwanni*. The positions are life-long.

(2) They are planted by the priests and by personators of sacred personages in connection with rites and ceremonials. All members of fraternities plant feather-sticks either at or after the new moon, or at the full moon. All members of the *kotikili* plant at *itiwonna* (winter solstice), at *yatokia techi* (summer solstice) and all cut feather-sticks for the *shalako* personators to plant at *shalako*. Women not members of fraternities, and children, *i. e.*, girls and boys not yet initiated into the *kotikili*, plant at *itiwonna* and at *yatokia techi*. At *itiwonna* men and women alike plant feather-sticks to deceased ancestors. Men also plant one feather-stick to the Sun and one to the *koko*.[1] Women plant one feather-stick to the Moon. At this time as well as at the summer solstice ceremonial the *ashiwanni* (priests)[2] plant for the Moon. Otherwise men do not plant for the Moon. Women do not plant for the Sun, nor, unless they are members of the *kotikili*, do they plant for the *koko*.

Women never cut or dress feather-sticks. Those of women fraternity members are cut for them by their ceremonial fathers. Those of other women, by father or husband.

Feather-sticks may be planted anywhere, in field or garden, by lay persons or members of fraternities. By the priests and by sacred personators they are planted in a great number of sacrosanct spots or shrines, by the river, at springs, near certain rocks, on

mother of several children, and a widow. A fourth member, an aged widow, died a short time ago.

[1] See p. 164.

[2] See p. 167.

hills, on mesas. All pray when they plant, all but children who do not know the prayers. (Prayers to the Sun may be said by anyone at sunrise, sacred meal being sprinkled on the ground. At meal times a bit of food may be crumbled on the ground or thrown on the fire and a prayer said to the dead.)

The wood used for feather-sticks is the red willow.

(3) *itiwonna*, middle. Short for *yatokia* (sun) *itiwonna* (middle) *kwin* (place) *te'chikia* (arrival). According to Cushing the ceremonial is to celebrate the arrival of the people in the middle place. ("Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology* (1891–2), pp. 430–1). The date is determined by a solar observation made by the *pekwĭn*.[1] When the rays of the rising sun fall on a certain point on *towa yalene* (corn mountain,[2] the great mesa about three miles east of the town) or, I have heard, when the sun appears to rise up along the northern edge of *towa yalene*, the *pekwĭn* becomes *teshkwi* for eight days. On the morning of the ninth day he announces that the ceremonial will begin ten days hence. This at least was the old rule. The *pekwĭn* who died in the spring of 1915 had increased the first eight days to sixteen. This December (1915) the new *pekwĭn* was bidden by the *kiakwemosi łashi*[3] to do likewise. For one day the *pekwĭn* complied, but then when the *kiakwemosi tsanna* and the other *ashiwanni* told him they would support him he proceeded to announce *itiwonna*. (*Cf.* Stevenson, M. C. "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology* (1901–2), p. 108.) The counting began on December 16. *Addendum*, 1916. The counting began again later than the *pekwĭn* had wished, later by four days, this time the *apilashiwanni*[4] interfering. It began on December 9, all planting on December 18.

itiwonna is the most important event of the Zuñi calendar.

[1] See pp. 167, 168.

[2] Stevenson thus translates and it is the translation current in Zuñi today. The word is pronounced *toi*, as in *toicha'kwena* (see p. 213), and it means home-made, native, our own. For example, *toi pisen*, native cotton, *i. e.*, Hopi cotton. *towa* in *towakwe* is translated corn, corn people or clan, otherwise the word for corn is *mili* (sing.), *miwe* (pl.).

[3] See p. 167.

[4] See pp. 167, 168.

"All the plans for the year are made" during this ceremonial. During the *teshkwi* fire may not be made outdoors nor refuse taken out of the house. See p. 241 for other taboos.

(4) A generic term for sacred periods or practices or objects. As applied to periods or practices it appears to imply restriction or taboo, taboos on eating meat (grease) or salt or sweets, a taboo on sexual intercourse or, as at *itiwonna*, a taboo on taking fire outdoors. An altar is *teshkwin*, so is the roof beam placque hung up during *shalako* in the dedicated houses. (*Cf.* "The Zuñi Indians," p. 115 n.a.)

(5) "Animals" is taken figuratively and refers to the medicine-men of the fraternities who get their curing powers through the animals. Among the animals are bear, mountain lion, and wildcat. Certain roots which go by the names of these animals are rubbed on the body during this ceremonial to make the person thus treated become like one of these wild animals. (*Cf.* Cushing, F. H., "Zuñi Fetiches," *Second Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology* (1880–1) pp. 19, 32.)

(6) Comprehensive term for the personages, human or animal, who figure in Zuñi mythology. They are impersonated in the dances or rites and in many cases their history is dramatized in a ceremonial. They live in various sacrosanct places, but principally at *kołuwela* (god town), located under the lake about sixty miles southwest of Zuñi. It is here the dead also dwell.

(7) *a*, plural prefix, *towa*, corn; *ellashtoki*, maiden. Personages whose myth is dramatized in the *molawia* ceremonial at the close of the *shalako* ceremonial. The personators are men chosen by the *shalako wowe* (managers)[1] and the officers of each of the six *kiwitsiwe*, by the *tikya mosi*, dance director, and the *tikya peanak* (*pekwin*), dance parleyer. (It is he who asks persons to dance, sometimes taking the person a package of meal.) There should be four personators from each *kiwitsine;* practically, parts often go begging.

The girls who run for the male personators are chosen by the heads of the *a͡iyahokwe* clan and not as I stated in an earlier article

[1] "Servants, according to Kroeber, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 163 n. 1.

("The Zuñi Molawia" in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIX (1916), p. 396) by the ceremonial fathers of the male personators of the *atowa ewashtoki*. The night *shalako* goes out, the *apiłashiwanni* go and bid the clan heads[1] set about selecting the girls. They may select that very night or the day following, selecting kinswomen either in their clan or in their household.

(8) *mola*, melon, *anona*, bringer. He who in the *molawia* ceremonial and at that time only is called *bitsitsi*. During the year *molawia anona* plants feather-sticks at the same time the *shalako* personators plant, but not with them. He may plant wherever he likes. When he goes out to plant he must fold his arms as in the *molawia* ceremonial and, as at that time, he may not speak. On his return home from planting there must be some one at hand to open the door for him and he must go directly to the corn storeroom to pray.

(9) *saya*, horn; *tasha*, long. (See "Zuñi Indians," pl. LXIII). To the impersonation no clan or fraternity or *kiwitsine* affiliation attaches. But the personator and his associates, personators of *hututu* and the two *yamuhakta* are wont to be selected from the same fraternity or *kiwitsine*. In 1917, for example, they were chosen from *heiwa kiwitsine*. They declined. Men from *uptsanna kiwitsine* accepted.

sayatasha appears only during *shalako*. He is *shalako awan mosi* (their director). See pages 184 ff. Unlike the *shalako*, however, he belongs to *kołuwela*. For his call see pages 326, 327.

When we use the term *personator*, we always refer to the representative of the god without his mask (*anchulen*). When the representative is masked the god's name alone is used. This usage corresponds to a distinction made by the Zuñi themselves. Although with the exception of the *koyemshi* and the *shalako* masks and the masks of the *sayatasha* party[2] all the masks are made up afresh for every ceremonial, sanctity attaches to the mask itself. The mask makes the god (*cf.* Cushing, F. H., in *American Anthro-*

[1] The reference of my informants to clan heads is incompatible with Dr. Kroeber's conclusion that the clans have no heads. See, too, p. 253.

[2] To these exceptions should be added the masks of the *shuma'kwe* fraternity, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 171.

pologist, vol. 7 (1894), p. 113, n.), just as his cane of office makes the governor.

(10) So-called from his cry. He appears only in *shalako*. The similarity of name of *eototo* who accompanies a sun god in Hopi ceremonial may be worth noting. (Fewkes, J. W. "Sky-God Personations in Hopi Worship." *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XV (1902), p. 19. Also Voth, H. R. "The Traditions of the Hopi." *Field Columbian Museum Publication 96*, vol. VIII, p. 64.)

(11) The stick across their mask is so called. They appear only in *shalako*.

(12) *ko* > *koko; oyemshi*, husband; *awan*, their; *tachu*, father. The personator is chosen theoretically in rotation from one of four fraternities—*newekwe*, *showe'kwe*, *matke łanna*, *koshikwe*, but the order of choice is today irregular. In 1915 he was chosen merely from a *kiwitsine*, from *heiwa kiwitsine*. He chooses the nine other *koyemshi* from his own fraternity (or *kiwitsine*) and with a view to having the various clans well represented. The clan affiliation is through the father, *i. e.*, a *koyemshi* is referred to as the child (*an chale*) of the clan. It is his father's clanspeople who are under ceremonial obligation towards him.

The obligations of the *koyemshi* themselves consist in working for the household to which they are accredited for *shalako*, in planting the monthly *shalako* feather-sticks and observing continence for the following four days, in going into an eight-day retreat before *shalako*, in performing rites at and after *shalako*, in coming out to "play" during the summer and winter series of *kokokshi*[1] dances or whenever other sets of dancers request their attendance. Their play consists of clownish antics or of set guessing or running or "bean bag" games.

The *koyemshi shalako* personators may not come out during the period between their appointment and the first *shalako* planting, *i. e.*, the first full moon after *itiwonna*. But others may borrow the masks at this time, as at other times, and personate *koyemshi*. All the *koyemshi* masks may be borrowed.

The masks are used until worn out. Of the three men who

[1] See pp. 174–5.

renew the masks one must be a *newekwe* and two from *matke łanna* fraternity. It is those fraternities which have the proper medicines (*akwawa*). The masks are made of Hopi cloth. Into the knobs of the masks are put bits of soil from the people's tracks about the town. This device gives the *koyemshi* power over the people and it is probably the prime reason for the great reverence in which the *koyemshi* are held.

(13) They are the *kiakwemosi łashi* (house director, old, *i. e.*, senior) who is not only head of his particular priesthood of *akiakwemosi* but also *shiwanni* of the north (*pislanke shiwanni*), the *temakoha* (east) *shiwanni*, the *alaho* (south) *shiwanni*, the *kalishi* (west) *shiwanni*, the *inania* (above) *shiwanni*, who is always known as the *pekwĭn* (deputy,[1] *i. e.*, of the Sun) and the *manilama* (below) *shiwanni*, who is also the *piłashiwanni* (bow *shiwanni*) *mosi* (director). It is this priesthood which rules Zuñi. I refer to it as the *ashiwanni* of all the directions (*templatakwe ashiwanni*). This Zuñi term is in use—how commonly I do not know.

There are several subordinate sets of *ashiwanni*, each set, guardians of an *ettone*. The position is not necessarily hereditary—although there is a tendency for the office to run in families. Vacancies by death are filled by surviving members, they often showing an inclination to elect relatives. (*Cf.* "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 166.)

The manner of election to the paramount priesthood, *templatakwe ashiwanni*, *ashiwanni* of all the directions,[2] is somewhat obscure.

[1] "Speaker," "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 158, n. 1. Tsatiselu once remarked to me that the Sun was pleased when the *ashiwi* came up because he had then persons to talk to.

[2] The grouping of these *ashiwanni* as a board, so to speak, is, I incline to think, recent. Stevenson held to this grouping, Cushing did not, nor, I may say, did my oldest and most reliable informant. Cushing describes the ruling priesthood in the hierarchy as follows: *pekwina*, priest of the sun and high-priest; *kia kwe armosi*, four priests of the temple including *tâ shiwan okia* (priestess of seed); *pithlan shiwan mosonatchi*, two bow priests who may or may not be the directors of the bow priesthood. These seven he refers to as the septuarchy. The Zuñi, says he, call them "priests of the light or day." They belong to the Parrot [*mula pichikwe*] clan. The Parrot clan contains priests or potential priests called priests of the night or darkness, any one of whom may be chosen on the death of one of the septuarchy to fill the vacancy, chosen by the survivors. "The Zuñi Social, Mythic and Religious Systems." *Popular*

The *pekwĭn* is chosen from the *pichikwe* clan by the heads of the fraternities. The *akiakwemosi* are also *pichikwe*. Like the subordinate sets of *ashiwanni* this set is, I believe, self-continuing. The *ashiwanni* of the West, East and South are heads respectively of subordinate sets of *ashiwanni*, but how they are chosen for the paramount priesthood I do not know. *apilashiwanni mosi* and *apilashiwanni an suwe* (younger brother) are chosen, according to Cushing, from the bow priesthood by the *akiakwemosi*.

(14) See "Zuñi Indians," pl. XXVIII. He is *koko awan mosi* (*koko*, their director). At *itiwonna* he specifies the dances which are to take place between *itiwonna* and the beginning of the winter series of the *kokokshi*. He makes this announcement in the respective *kiwitsiwe* with the *ponewe* (ceremonial cigarette). *pau'tiwa* appears in three ceremonials and in three only—during the *molawia* ceremonial conclusive of *shalako* and twice during *itiwonna*. On his first appearance, four days before the close of *teshkwi* he is known as the *komhalikwi* (god witch). (See "Zuñi Indians," pp. 127–8. M. A. L. failed to note this event.) The rôle is played in each ceremonial by a different personator. The rôle of *pau'tiwa molawia* is filled by a *annakwe* (tobacco) clansman who is chosen by the heads of the *a͡iyahokwe* clan. The rôle of *pau'tiwa* at *itiwonna* is filled by a *pichikwe* (dogwood) clansman.

In the January ceremonial of the Zuñi clans of Hopi, at Sitcomovi, a ceremonial to honor the return of the spirit ancients, *pautiwa* is described as a sun god who leads the other sun gods and the clan ancients. (Fewkes, J. W. "An Interpretation of Katcina Worship." *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XIV (1901), p. 87.)

(15) He is the *koko łanna* (god, big) of the *matke łanna* fraternity. (See "Zuñi Indians," pl. XXVI.)

(16) Associated with *shitsukia*, *kwelele* comes out only with him

Science Monthly, vol. XXI (1882), p. 187. According to Kroeber, the "day people" (*te-k'ohannakwe*) are they I call *templatakwe ashiwanni*, and all the other priests are the "night people" (*te-kw'innakwe*). "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 176. Kroeber's informants denied that the "day people" were designated by reference to the directions. Several of my informants made the same denial, and it was not until after I had witnessed the installation of the *tenientes* in 1917 that the direction terms of the "day people" were given to me.

at *itiwonna* or when he comes out as *koko łanna* of the *matke łanna* fraternity. (See "Zuñi Indians," pl. XXVIII.) According to Cushing, *shutsuk'ya* is a corn-soot god. ("Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 443.)

After *shitsukia* and *kwelele* pass each house in their early morning rounds the inmates take out the refuse accumulated during the *teshkwi*.

(17) *okya*, woman. She is ceremonially *awan tsilu* (their mother's sister) of the *toicha·kwena*.[1] She goes barefoot past *every* house. The women of the house carry coals around the walls of the rooms and after the *cha·kwena okya* has passed by, the women throw the coals out doors.

(18) The personators are appointed from *kiwitsiwe*, two *salymobia*, older brother and younger brother, from each *kiwitsine*. They figure at *itiwonna*, at the initiation into the *kotikili*, at the ceremonial rabbit hunt, at *shalako*, and during the winter series of the *kokokshi*.

The year of the initiation into *kotikili* personators of *salymobia* may not dance in any of the winter dances until after the initiation. The personators throughout the year are not the same.

(19) A *tonashikwe* (badger) clansman is chosen by the *kiakwemosi łashi* to be *tsupala ilona* (blood-pudding having). *tsupala ilona* selects the boy to impersonate *shulawitsi*, selecting from his family, perhaps his own son or his sister's son. Failing to choose a youthful personator he may himself impersonate *shulawitsi*. This was the case in 1916, and this is probably the explanation of the appearance of adults in other years. The *tsupala* (*tsu*, stomach, pouch, *pala*, buried) consists of suet, meal, and the blood and cut-up heart of a sheep baked in the stomach of a sheep. The stomach is buried under coals and the oven is sealed.

shulawitsi is *said* to be an obsolete Zuñi word meaning "spotted." The body of *shulawitsi* is painted black with red, yellow, blue, and white spots. He is nude but for a fawn skin across his right shoulder, the head falling on the left side towards the front—after the same fashion the *koyemshi* wear their fawn skin. Like theirs,

[1] See p. 213.

the fawn skin of *shulawitsi* serves as a bag. In it he carries sacred meal. (See "Zuñi Indians," pl. LXII.)

(20) *piłan*, bow. The priesthood is composed of the *apiłashiwanni*, the head priest, *shiwanni* of the below, and of his understudy, *apiłashiwanni an suwe* (younger brother), and a varying number of members, any taker of a scalp being eligible to membership. In 1896 there were fifteen members of this priesthood; today there are five. The *apiłashiwanni* as he is usually called or *apiłashiwanni mosi* (director) and *apiłashiwanni an suwe* appear to carry out the decrees of the *ashiwanni* of all the directions. Whenever the lesser *ashiwanni* fill vacancies in their own groups it is a bow priest who notifies the person selected. Personators chosen by the *ashiwanni* of all the directions are also notified by the bow priests.

Tsawele, the man who fills the office of *apiłashiwanni* today is the paramount influence in Zuñi politics.[1]

(21) When none volunteers to entertain the *koyemshi* it is customary for them to be entertained in the house of the personator of *koyemshi awan tachu*. After the death this year of the personator of *awan tachu*, the entertaining devolved upon his son.

(22) Their number varies. As they go around town they wear no masks, but they are covered, including the head, with a pelt or with a wagon sheet. As they pass by the houses the inmates throw coals at them.

(23) This date, four days after the close of the *itiwonna teshkwi*, is the regular date to announce this ceremonial. People make little clay figures of horses, cows, mules, sheep, hens, bracelets, rings, and place them around the saint. For four days the saint is laid down as if in childbed. (*chalia* is the common term for lying-in.) During this confinement the saint, it is supposed, is engaged in giving increase to the creatures or things represented by the clay images. (*Cf.* "Traditions of the Hopi," p. 85.) At the end of the four days the images are taken home by their makers and kept until the next year's ceremony. (*Cf.* a like rite of the Hopi in their

[1] My informants assert, however, that *apiłashiwanni mosi* (specifically Tsawele) has not a formal voice in the elections of the *ashiwanni*, including the elections of the *tenientes* or secular officers. See pp. 265 ff.

winter solstice ceremonial, Fewkes, J. W. in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 11 (1898), pp. 72, 75.)

Eight days before the saint's dance (*satechiwe*> *santu*, *techi*, saint reaches there) in the autumn she is again in retreat, lying down the first four days and sitting up the remaining four days. At the *satechiwe* the saint is seated on her becandled table (altar) in *łanna* plaza, a bower (*hampon*) having been built there for her. Her crier calls out for young men to volunteer to come down to be soldiers (*sontaluk*) for her. Two will volunteer at a time. Each is given a Spanish gun to hold. Holding the guns they go up to the altar, make the sign of the Cross and say the *polaseniya*, "Mexican prayer." (See p. 272.) There will be twenty or so volunteers during the day. Around the altar sit the *ashiwanni* and the *tenientes*.

The *santu* has her own *tenientes*. She has three *tenientes*—*santilona* (saint having), he in whose house she dwells permanently, *pishkau*, he who cares for her paraphernalia, and *weachona'we* or crier. *sant an pishkau* (*fiscales* ?) is the collective name for them. They were also referred to by Zuñi speaking to me as her *tenientes*.

In 1871 the image of the patron saint, the Virgin of Guadalupe, was carried off by vandal Americans ("Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 377). The image of St. Francis was substituted in the cult; but the figure, which is referred to merely as *santu*, is still regarded as female.

Since the early part of the nineteenth century there has been no resident Catholic priest at Zuñi, but up to the last few years the priests visited Zuñi regularly once a month. They stayed in the house of Jesus, a Mexican who had been sold in boyhood to the Zuñi by the Apache.

(24) This fraternity always perform its public snow or rain ceremonial twice during the season of January–February. After planting in anticipation of the ceremonial, the members go into retreat in their ceremonial house for four days. At *itiwonna* this fraternity does not plant, nor is meat taboo.

(25) January 11, 1917, two women were initiated into this fraternity. One was a woman who had been delivered prematurely,

the other, an old woman, had had an abscess on her face lanced. In the preceding June there had been likewise an initiation. The woman initiate was still sick. She had bad swellings. The *matke łannakwe* treat to bring out the swellings whereas the *newekwe* treat to reduce swellings. In this case the patient had been first treated by a *newekwe*, her stepfather, then at the solicitation of her mother's people, the *matke łannakwe* had been called in. It is not customary to change fraternities on a case, but it could be done in this case because the first doctor was a relative.

At this June initiation the *koko łanna* of the *matke łanna* fraternity came out. This mask has small eyes and pregnant women must not look at it lest the eyes of the child be small. The *koko łanna* comes out only in a case of swelling and as a last resort.

(26) Men and women dance in a circle holding feather-sticks in their hands. (See "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 425.)

(27) Ceremonial performed at close of the dance by the *łewekwe* fraternity by two girls and a young man, not members of the fraternity. The choir may be variously composed. On this occasion it was made up of men from *heiwa kiwitsine* and *uptsanna kiwitsine*. In 1917 it was drawn from the *suskikwe* fraternity on the first performance, from the *newekwe* fraternity on the second. In 1915 the ceremonial was for the first time omitted. Because of its "sword swallowing" feature it is in disfavor with the "American" authorities. M. A. L. has known of the death of two women from the performance.

(28) This night the boys and young men try to pull each other up and down the house ladder of the ceremonial house, the house where the *ettone* is kept. Stevenson speaks of practical joking "by the girls" ("Zuñi Indians," p. 451). My informant knew of no such performance.

(29) Initiations into fraternities always take place at the close of a four-day retreat.

(30) A masked personage to frighten and discipline the children, running after them in the street and paying them domiciliary visits. He also acts as a sergeant-at-arms for adults. (See Parsons, E. C., "The Zuñi *A Doshle* and *Suukĕ*" in *American Anthropologist*,

vol. 18 (1916), pp. 338–47.) I have since learned that the term used in exchanging terms of relationship from which I suggested *atoshle* was derived is itself derived from *toseluna*, meaning the reed that grows about sacred springs and which is used ceremoniously. The derivation for *atoshle* now given me is *aloshtea* from *oshtea*, cave, *ale*, rock. The creatures who lived in the rock caves of *heskokta*, the mesas immediately to the north of Zuñi, were killed by the war gods and going to *kołuwela* became *atoshle*.

suukĕ, I was told, let me add in this connection, was an *atoshle łamana* (man-woman) sometimes called *ałamana* (*a* > *atoshle*). He appears in woman's dress carrying bow and arrow.

atoshle is said to join only in the *watempla* dance, but in 1915 I saw him join the *hemishikwe* and at the *shalako* of 1916 he was with the *muluktakya*. In 1890 Fewkes saw *atoshle* with the *hemishikwe*. (*Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, I, 37).

(31) See "Zuñi Indians," pl. LXXIa; Fewkes, J. W., "Hopi Katcinas," *Twenty-first Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology*, (1904), pp. 70–3. On the morning of August 26, 1915, on the fourth day of the *kokokshi* I saw two *natashku*. The *koyemshi* were out playing in *tsiaa* plaza. They were playing a guessing game with the men and women they called down in pairs from the house-tops. The pairs had to guess what *koko* were in *heiwa kiwitsine*. Finally the *koko* came out. They were the *natashku*, "the starving gods," as they were called to me. After they were sprinkled with meal by the pair guessing, they pretended to shoot and sometimes did let fly their eagle-feathered arrows at the *koyemshi* until the *koyemshi* ran into the houses on the plaza and brought out to the *natashku* presents of meat and bread. The *natashku* walked with a slow ponderous tread. They wore the regulation dance moccasins, tortoise and antelope toes rattle, kilt, and dance belt. Over one shoulder to the ankles hung a skin (?). Around the base of the mask was a fox skin. The mask was a long donkey-shaped head with a wide slit mouth filled with conspicuous teeth. Eight eagle feathers formed a fan at the back above short wig-like ringlets. They held a bow and arrows and a large skin-made quiver was slung across the back.

(32) See pp. 220–5.

(33) Theoretically any one may ask to have a dance repeated the day following (or a song repeated at the close of the dance). Practically, as far as I have observed, the requests for repetition come mostly from the priests. Towards the close of the dance the requisitioner enters the plaza and sprinkles all the dancers with meal, saying a prayer as he sprinkles. The request may not be denied, but it may be precluded by the dancers scattering quickly at the close of the day's dance instead of filing out in the usual orderly procession. Such, we are to note, is the termination of this *hililí* series. Formerly the requisitioner had to furnish a bowl of food to the dancers for their midday meal on the day of the dance. Nowadays the custom of giving food is observed by certain individuals and not by others.

(34) *ko* > *koko*, *sawia*, tell. The announcement of the dance. Two of the *kokokshi* dancers come in in the afternoon and visit each *kiwitsine*, stating that in a certain number of days the dance will be held. The number set is usually four, but they may specify two or, as they did on March 8, three. (?) The two also dance with their masks on (?) in the *kiwitsine*. If a dance is on in the plaza, they will dance there.

In 1917 the *kosawia* of the first *kokokshi* was January 23. The first *shalako* planting was January 20. (See p. 245.) The first *kokokshi* must be danced after this planting and not before, because the *shalako koyemshi* must attend on the *kokokshi* and before the first planting the *shalako koyemshi* may not "come out."

(35) *ko* > *koko; kokshi*, good. The most "sacred" of the dances. They bring snow or rain. Rain or snow is the breath of the dead and the dancers ask the dead who have come in the clouds (cloud spirits, *uwannami*), to send down their breath (*awaya-hakunane*). An aged informant states that women spirits are not prayed to for rain (see Parsons, E. C. "A Few Zuñi Death Beliefs and Practices," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 18 (1916), p. 252) but the son of this man states equally positively that all the dead, including "the last baby," are asked to send rain. There is a winter series and a summer series of *kokokshi*. In each series, each *kiwitsine*

is supposed to present a *kokokshi* dance. Twelve *kokokshi* therefore are danced during the year—theoretically. (See p. 177.) The order of rotation by the *kiwitsiwe* (see "Zuñi Indians," p. 143 ft. a, 147) appears also to be theoretic. In February, 1916, *hekiapawa kiwitsine* gave the first *kokokshi*; in June, 1916, *uptsanna kiwitsine*; in January, 1917, *heiwa kiwitsine*. In the winter series to be noted, the several *kokokshi* are somewhat crowded together because of the imminence of the *kotikili* initiation. In other years there will be an interval of two or three weeks between *kokokshi*.

The *shalako koyemshi* are always in attendance.

In these dances the morning circuit of the four plazas has to be repeated four times. In other dances the circuit is made but once.

(36) The dancers make a circuit of the *kiwitsiwe*. On these occasions, outsiders, including women, are admitted to the *kiwitsiwe*.

(37) Meaning cotton hanging. This is just like the other *kokokshi* except that white cotton hangs down over the mustaches from the mask. *upikyaupona* is usually danced by the *hekiapawa kiwitsine* instead of the regular *kokokshi*.

(38) In a burlesque, tin buttons would be used for silver, large cow bells for small bells, etc. In this particular burlesque the regular masks were not worn, but imitation *koyemshi* masks.

See pp. 195–6 for references to the regular Navajo dance. January 14 and 15, 1917, I saw a *komanchu* dance. It was danced for the most part in the northeast corner of the *łanna* plaza and towards the end of the afternoon in front of two houses on the north side of town. On Sunday January 14 the performers consisted of four girls and one young man who happened to be the director of the *uhuhukwe*. (The week before the same dance had been given, the dancers being eight girls and two men). The girls were about sixteen or seventeen. They were referred to as school girls, and the dance was held on Sunday because on that day they were out of school. A dozen or so youths made up the choir, one playing the drum. The girls danced two by two or in line—moving with the very short regulation dance step up and down on a line east and west of about one hundreed feet. After the pause to rest a dance would be started with two or three genuflexions. The young man danced

in front and around the girls with free and somewhat improvised steps. In *lanna* plaza he danced but little, but in convoying the girls to the north side and on the north side his dancing was the conspicuous feature. But for his feather headdress the young man wore his usual American clothes. The headdress was of stiff eagle feathers, sweeping backward on either side of the flowing hair, the circlet at the back of the head being closed with yarn. In his left hand he carried what appeared to represent a Spanish halberd about two feet and a half long. The girl dancers wore colored shawls draped as skirts, velvet bodices, silver belts, and the usual women's moccasins. Their hair was flowing and surmounted by a crown of stiff eagle feathers with a ribbon rosette and pendant ribbons on either side. They were heavily benecklaced and beringed. In either hand they carried two feathers. On either cheek was a large spot of red paint encircled with small spots of white.

On January 15 the dance was repeated by two girls over twenty and one young man.

(39) Little *teniente* or *weachona'we* (crier). He is the last in rank of the *tenientes* or secular officers. It is he who usually calls out the orders or announcements from the house-top, although any *teniente* except the *tapup* may also call them out.

(40) Every full moon after the appointment at *itiwonna* all the personators of the parts taken at *shalako* plant feather-sticks. After the planting, it is said, rain or snow is apt to fall. In 1917 I was in Zuñi the day of the first planting, January 20. It was a rainy day "because of the planting," I was told. They planted as usual at *uhanna*, the place where they first plant. In this register for 1916 no January planting was recorded.[1] There are or should be ten full moon plantings. Then the *kohâiito* (see p. 181) begins and there is a planting every ten days for forty days, *i. e.*, there are four plantings.

(41) Or *hepikwine* (*hekohawe*, silver, *ikwine*, belt) "silver belts." All the ornaments are of silver. A pottery drum is used and a

[1] M. A. L. insists that there was no January full moon planting. There was no planting, she says, because all the *shalako* personators had not been appointed. In 1917, by January 20, only four *shalako* personators had been appointed and yet, I must note, they planted—twelve days after full moon. The register also omits the August planting.

canvas bundle, beaten. A Zuñi visitor among the Hopi learned this dance. First performance this year.

The introduction of new dances is common. In 1917 I heard of a cow dance that was seen in 1916 by a Zuñi among the Hopi and was to be danced shortly in Zuñi. The introducer had introduced the Mohave dance in the summer of 1915. In 1914 a Zuñi who had visited the Pima introduced a Pima dance. (See p. 225.)

(42) See pp. 229–35. But on this occasion the fraternity members did not themselves come out. Their caps merely and their songs were borrowed. In 1917 *heiwa kiwitsine* members personated *newekwe*.

(43) *pesi*, sleeve, *kaĭpa*, wide.

(44) *kale*, buckskin. The dancers wear each a buckskin over one shoulder.

(45) When they danced on February 8 they were asked to dance again, not on the day following, but on a later day.

(46) He is supposed to be very "contrary." He will pick out the smallest of the *koyemshi* to carry him. He carries a duck bill with which he will peck his *koyemshi* bearer on the head if he is not carried to his satisfaction. "Stubborn as *kiaklo*," is a Zuñi saying.

(See "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 406–14; "Zuñi Indians," pp. 65–89.) There are today two personators of *kiaklo*. They do not belong to the same clan, but to the same *kiwitsine*, to *chupawa kiwitsine*.

(47) There is a couple to each *kiwitsine*, *salymobia an papa* (older brother) and *salymobia an suwe* (younger brother).

(48) So as not to see any woman. During their retreat they are supposed not to see or even mention a woman.

(49) See p. 214.

(50) This personage represents a bird. He carries a bird in his hand and his call is birdlike. The word does not come from suckling (*tsitsiki*). ("Zuñi Indians," p. 89. See too p. 84.)

(51) See "Zuñi Indians," pl. XIV.

(52) In this rite which is repeated in the four plazas two *koko* (*muluktakwe*. See pp. 213–4) carry a spruce tree. A group of *koko*

run towards it crying *hashiate* (*hashi*, shake). (*Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 83.)

(53) Persons not wishing to be whipped will carry in their hand an ear of corn, a cup of water or something else. Persons wishing to be whipped will stand out in *tsiaa* plaza holding sacred meal. After being whipped they will wave the meal four times around the head and throw it on the ground.

Others besides the *salymobia* whip, for the group of whippers is accounted nineteen, the twelve *salymobia*, two from each *kiwitsiwe*, two *łelashotipona* (wooden ears) from *heiwa kiwitsiwe*, two *annahokwe* from *ohewa kiwitsine*, one *shulawitsi* (not *shalako shulawitsi*) from *uptsanna kiwitsine*, two *uopoyana* (cotton hat) from *hekiapawa kiwitsine*. These *koko* "belong to" the respective *kiwitsine*, but personators do not have to be members of the respective *kiwitsine*.

According to Cushing the *annahokwe* are in myths the younger blood brothers of *kiaklo* and *koyemshi awan tachu*. ("Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 399, 415.)

(54) They throw jars or baskets. A member of the household will spit on the object and after waving sacred meal four times around the head drop it on the spittle. It is recognized as a purifying rite. In one household we know of the grandmother directed them to put out a cracked jar that was at hand, her grandchild M . . . to spit in it. "They could take M . . . down with it," said she.

According to Cushing the object of this rite is to send the discarded things to the dead. ("Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 415. See too page 441 for spitting as a purificatory rite.)

(55) At the last initiation they did not go on the outskirts of the town, and the people resented it. So this year they determined to take two days to their rounds.

(56) The initiates are whipped by a *salymobia* and the *sayałian* (horn, green). Each of the four *sayałian* whips each initiate four times. In the *kiwitsine* the *sayałian* mask is put on the initiate (*cf.* Stevenson, M. C., "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology*, (1889–90) p. 117), and he in turn whips each personator four times.

The *sayalian* are in the charge of the *kopekwĭn*.

The *sayalian* (there are always four) figure in the ceremonial rabbit hunt, and they come out one night (the night is arbitrary) during the winter series of *kokokshi*. They are "fiercer" than the *salymobia*. *sayalian* are appointed to whip sufferers from nightmare or from violation of *teshkwi*. Personators are appointed as the occasion arises. They are appointed by the *komosona*.

When the initiation is not completed at this time, *i. e.*, when the whippings between initiate and *sayalian* are not performed, it carries over to the *shalako* ceremonial, to the night of the day of the same year or of another year the *shalako* "come in." This part is called *tennapike* (to know where). After it, the initiates may straightway take part in the dances, if it occurs at *shalako*, for example, in the very same *shalako* dances.

(57) The dances after the initiation have no particular ceremonial meaning. They are "to put the children into a good humor after their whipping."

(58) *kuyapalitsa* is her personal name. Four days before the hunt a rabbit is killed and the blood rubbed on the legs of the *cha·kwena* personator. In the hunt the *cha·kwena* must take a straight course over all obstacles, so that the blood will be rubbed off on the plants and rabbits will be plentiful. If the hunt is not conducted strictly or the *cha·kwena* not properly stage-managed, during the year there will be a paucity of both rabbits and infants.

Two ears of corn may be worn in the belt in the hunt by the *cha·kwena* and then given to a would-be mother to be worn one day in the belt. The mother of the *cha·kwena* personator attends the would-be mother when in due course she is confined and the personator thereby becomes the ceremonial father of the infant, *i. e.* his introducer into the *kotikili*.

The *cha·kwena* of the hunt is the same as the *cha·kwena* of *itiwonna*.

(59) The rabbits are the perquisites of the *ashiwanni* of all the directions.

Through the *kianakwe* quadrennial ceremonial the *ashiwanni* also receive rabbits, besides birds and deer, *kianakwe* personators

hunting for one month before the ceremonial and giving their spoils to the *ashiwanni*. The ceremonial was held in 1915 on November 18. Fifteen deer had been killed. The *pekwĭn* and the *kiakwemosi łashi* each got a buckskin.

(60) These offerings are subsequently distributed in *chupawa kiwitsine*. A set portion of the town is assigned for the morning visitation and the morning offerings go to the *salymobia*. The offerings received in the afternoon visitation go to the rest of the group. As the morning visitation covers less ground than that of the afternoon and as the receipts serve for dinner in the *kiwitsine*, the allowance to the *salymobia* is said to be disproportionately small. This year each *salymobia* had only six pieces of bread to take home, whereas the others had a blanketful of things. Now the others, the *sayalian*, for example, have less to do than the *salymobia*, not going into a retreat. Since the *salymobia* have more to do and get less, positions will be hard to fill, we hear, at the next initiation.

(61) Ditch, wide. A place on the river a mile or more southwest of the town. It is here offerings to the dead are made, and feather-ṣticks planted for them. At burial, things like bedding which are too bulky to go into the grave in the cemetery are carried to the river ditch.

(62) During the last ten years or more women have not taken part. They used to go on the hunt and receive the rabbits from the men.[1]

(63) Determined by an observation taken by the *pekwĭn* on *yala łanna* (mountain big) to the north of Zuñi.

(64) The same *shulawitsi* as figures in *shalako*. Likewise personated by the same personator.

(65) Every other year they go to *kołuwela*, the sacred lake. Formerly, according to Stevenson ("Zuñi Indians," p. 43, n. c.) they went every fourth year.

(66) This year *uptsanna kiwitsine* makes the pilgrimage and presents the first *kokokshi*. The *kiwitsine* take turns in presenting the first of the summer *kokokshi*. The winter series of *kokokshi* is

[1] In October, 1913, I arrived in Cochiti on the day of a communal hunt, and I saw the women returning on foot carrying rabbits and other quarry. For Hopi women in the hunt see "Traditions of the Hopi," p. 246.

said to follow the order of the summer series. For the first *kokokshi* the *komosona* is the leader with the *mili*.

(67) The *kiwitsine* presenting the *kokokshi* may choose the fraternity it wishes for choir.

(68) In the summer of 1915 the final *kokokshi* began on August 22 and was given five days.

(69) Between the retreat of the *akiakwemosi* and this retreat there were other retreats by other sets of *ashiwanni*. Owing to untoward circumstances, however, M. A. L. failed to record these retreats, nor have the particular groups of *ashiwanni* been named. According to Dr. Kroeber the *kolowissi* priesthood went in on August 10, and Mr. Spier records the *shuma'kwe* as going in August 18 and the *yatokiakwe*, August 22. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 175, n. 6. Since the different priesthoods appear to go in every four days, M. A. L. probably made a mistake in her record for August 17.

The summer stick (*tikwane*) races were also unrecorded.

(70) There appears to be some special connection between the *ashiwanni* and this fraternity. (*Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 167; "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 171.) Fraternity meetings may be called by the *pekwĭn*.

(71) Instead of a *kokokshi*, a striking irregularity.

(72) God determined. The counting of the days to *shalako* is done by untying the forty-nine knots made in two cords made by the *pekwĭn* and in charge respectively of the *sayatasha* personator and of the personator of *koyemshi awan tachu*. The first knot is untied the day of the planting at *a͡iayaka*, the October full moon planting. The last knot is untied the day the *shalako* come in. The next day the cords are buried.

(73) Four days previously, a fact not appearing in the register, the *weachona'we* or crier of the *santu* announced that it was time to bring in wood and four days hence to celebrate *ahoppa awan tewa*. How the date is determined today I failed to learn. "It is some time after the *koha͡iito*." This year it was in fact five days later, in 1915 it was fifteen days later, the *koha͡iito* being on October 15 and *ahoppa awan tewa* on October 30.

A lot of everything cooked on this day is carried by the men to *akwia ka͡ipa* or thrown by the women on the house fire.

In the evening groups of boys go about town crying out, "tsalemo! tsalemo!" (See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIX (1916), pp. 538–9), and paying domiciliary visits. They say the "Mexican" prayer at the threshold and the inmates give them presents of food.

For the theory that the day originated in the All Souls Day of the Catholic Church see Parsons, E. C., "All Souls Day at Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna," to be published in the 1918 Hispanic number of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. My collaborator and her Zuñi informants insist that the day has always been observed by the people and that it is in no wise Catholic.

(74) For this retreat and the subsequent celebration of *shalako* see pp. 187 ff.

(75) For *chakwena* at Hopi, see Fewkes, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XIV (1901), p. 84; at Laguna, Parsons, E. C., "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," to be published in the *American Anthropologist*.

(76) God going. (*ko, anne* going.) "When they all go away," once remarked to me a little girl, "it is the lonesomest day."

(77) See Parsons, E. C., "The Zuñi Molawia." *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIX (1916), pp. 392–9. I have since noted that the *shiwanni* who carries the gourd to *hepatina* is the *pekwĭn*. He pours out the water, saying to this effect: "As we pour the water in here, so we want the rains of summer to fall."

Shalako, 1915

At the winter solstice ceremonial (*itiwonna*) towards the close of December, arrangements are made for the year long *shalako* observances with its culminating ceremonial in the first half of the following December. At this time are chosen and notified the ten *koyemshi*, the more "sacred" of Zuñi's two groups of "delight makers" or sacred clowns,[1] *tsupala ilona* or the appointer of the personator of *shulawitsi*, and the personators of the *sayatasha*, the *hututu*, and of the two *yamuhakta*, a group plus *shulawitsi* and the two *salymobia* appointed[2] the day before the *shalako* come in that we shall henceforward refer to as the *sayatasha* party. At this time are appointed also the twelve *shalako*[3] personators, likewise the eight households whose heads volunteer to entertain the sacred personages, six households entertaining each a *shalako* pair, one household, the *sayatasha* party, one the *koyemshi*.

The *ashiwanni* of all the directions choose him who is to be *koyemshi awan tachu* for the year, he in turn choosing the other nine *koyemshi*. He chooses from his own fraternity (or *kiwitsine*) and he chooses somewhat according to clan. The affiliation is through the father's clan *i. e.* the *koyemshi* is the child (*an chale*) of the specified clan.[4] This year the *koyemshi* were:

Office	*Father's clan*
awan tachu	*tonakwe* (turkey)
pekwĭn (deputy to *awan tachu*)	*kyakyalikwe* (eagle)
piłashiwanni	*tonashikwe* (badger)
eshotsi (bat)	*suskikwe* (coyote)
muyapona	*pichikwe* (dogwood)
posoki	*a͡iyahokwe* (tansy mustard after Kroeber)
nałashi (*nana*, grandfather, *łashi*, old)	*takyakwe* (frog)

[1] The *newekwe* are the other group. See pp. 229 ff.

[2] By the *apiłashiwanni*.

[3] *yanułła* (*awan ułła*), their representatives, they may be called.

[4] A Zuñi takes his mother's clan and is the child of his father's clan.

itsepasha (*tsepa*, trick)
kyalutsi
tsałashi (*tsanna*, little, *łashi*) or *awan suwe tsanna* (their little younger brother)
yatokiakwe (sun)
koloktakwe (sandhill crane)
towakwe (corn)[1]

With one or two exceptions all but the decadent clans are represented in this selection, and *koyemshi awan tachu* chose as usual, I believe, in no set way,[2] having merely in mind a full representation of the more numerous clans.

According to Stevenson, twenty or thirty years ago there were four fraternities which took turns in supplying the *koyemshi*, the *newekwe*, *showekwe*, *koshikwe*, *matke łanna*.[3] Even then the *koshikwe* were being passed over in the selection and the eligibility of the *newekwe* was subject to question.[4] For the last fifteen years at least the *newekwe* have been passed over. It is a diminishing fraternity. Perhaps the *showekwe* are also in course of being passed over.[5] In 1912 the *koyemshi* came from the *showekwe*, in 1913 and 1914 they came from the *matke łannakwe* (different men "playing" each year)[6] and this year (1915) they came not from the *showekwe*, but from *heiwa kiwitsine*, a notable irregularity.

The *ashiwanni* choose the personators of *sayatasha*, of *hututu* and of the two *yamuhakta*. And they choose too the *tonashikwe* clansman who is to appoint the personator of *shulawitsi*. The

[1] *Cf.* "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 401–2.

[2] Stevenson erroneously suggests that in each of the four fraternities each *koyemshi* office is filled from a stated clan. "Zuñi Indians," p. 235.

In 1916 the clans were, according to the order of office in the text, *tonashikwe*, *tonakwe*, *tonakwe*, *takyakwe*, *yatokiakwe*, *annakwe* (tobacco), *koloktakwe*, *kyakyalikwe*, *pichikwe*, *pichikwe*.

[3] "Zuñi Indians," p. 235.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 273.

[5] Its director in 1902 was selecting his nine *koyemshi* from the people at large. (*Ib.*, p. 235 n.a.) Since writing the above I learn that in 1916 the *koyemshi* came from the *showekwe*.

[6] *Cf.* "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 163, n. 1. Of the 1912 *showekwe koyemshi* impersonators, eight including the impersonator of *awan achu*, were reappointed in 1916. That a different set of *matke łannakwe* played in 1914 from that of 1913 was probably a consequence of the same fraternity having been called upon two years in succession rather than an exception to the tendency noted by Kroeber to go on selecting the same members of a fraternity as personators.

wowe (managers) of the *shalako* of each *kiwitsine* decide upon the personators of the *shalako*,[1] two personators for each of the six *shalako*, known as elder brother (*shalako an papa*) and younger brother (*shalako an suwe*). The *wole* (sing. of *wowe*) holds a lifelong position. If suitable young men are not forthcoming as *shalako* personators, the *wowe* must play the part themselves. The day of the morning the *teshkwi* closes, the *apiłashiwanni* notifies all the appointees of their selection. In *heiwa kiwitsine* the *pekwin* gives them their feather-sticks. On this day too volunteer those heads of households who would entertain at their houses the *koyemshi*, the *sayatasha* party, and the *shalako*, eight such *shalako* houses, as I shall call them, should be offered.

For all the households decided upon feather-sticks[2] are "cut" by the *ashiwanni*. They are brought out during the year when the house is visited by clanspeople. The feather-sticks are prayed over and breathed from (*yĕchuni*), and the visitors are told they are expected to help in the household labors of the year. Others help too—the *koyemshi* personators and their one *wole* in the *koyemshi* house, the personators of the various gods themselves and their *wowe*[3] in the *sayatasha* party house, the *shalako* personators and the members of each of the six *kiwitsiwe* in their respective *shalako* houses. They all help in hoeing, planting, and harvesting, they help in the house-building or renovating expected of each of the appointed households, the men help to bring in the wood and

[1] Said to be an obsolete word meaning "tall."(?) "Tall like *shalako*," is a currently descriptive phrase. A certain tall American woman was referred to as the American *shalako*. See "Zuñi Indians," plates LXI, LXIV. The Zuñi say they have had the *shalako* with them "ever since they came out of the ground," *i. e.*, as we would say "ever since Adam and Eve," but, like ourselves, they are apt to make that claim for every ceremonial or custom. No *shalako* masks or ceremonies exist, I was assured, at Acoma or Laguna, and from several minor observations I incline to credit the statement. The Franciscan Fathers state (*An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, pp. 393–4, St. Michaels, Arizona, 1910) that the Zuñi borrowed *shalako* from the Navajo. The Zuñi, of course, repudiate this origin. They say, however, that the *shalako* do not come from *kołuwela*, but from a place, *shalakonawa*, or spring between Ojo Caliente and *kołuwela*.

[2] In them are used feathers of the turkey, eagle, duck, and of the birds "whose feathers are used on the *koko* plumes."

[3] The *komosona* and the *kopekwin* are *wowe* to *sayatasha*. He has other *wowe*, too, men of no other particular position.

the women of their households help to grind. In return for this coöperation they are fed the days they work by the household they serve.

Communal service on a larger scale is also expected of the three groups of sacred personators throughout the year. They plant feather-sticks at stated times and places and these plantings are for the good of the whole community. At the ten full moons after *itiwonna* they plant in the order given at the following places *uhanna, ałapatsa, atsinau, pishukaiyaa, ɬanułaa, toloknanaa, toloknanaa* (different place) *kyatechia, opompia, a͡iayaka* (nat).[1] On the day of the last planting, the planting at *a͡iayaka*, the *koha͡iito* (god, determined) begins. The date this year (1915) was October 15.[2] The *koha͡iito* is the counting of the forty-nine days to the arrival of the *shalako*. At sunrise the *ashiwanni* meet with the *komosona*, the *kopekwĭn* and the two *kopiłashiwanni* in the ceremonial chamber of the *akiakwemosi*.[3] The time record is kept on two cords (*pile*, a secular term), one in charge of *koyemshi awan tachu*, the other in charge of the *sayatasha*. These *pile* are made by the *pekwĭn*. They were formerly made of Hopi cotton, now the cotton is store bought. They are the length of the outstretched arms and they are knotted forty-nine times. Into each of the first twenty-four knots and of the last twenty-four knots is put a pinch of corn pollen; into the twenty-fifth knot, some ground turquoise and shell.[4] Each day a knot is undone. When the date of the final ceremonial, beginning with the arrival of the *koyemshi*, is to be postponed, for ten days no knots are undone, leaving the final ten knots to be undone during the final ten days. There was

[1] According to another informant the first five plantings were at *uhanna, pikiaia, atsinakwi, pishuklakwi, ɬanułakwi*.

[2] In the evening, according to Stevenson ("Zuñi Indians," p. 234) the personators of *sayatasha* and *koyemshi awan tachu* go to *kushilowa* to pray. Nowadays, whatever the practice was formerly, I am told they do not go.

[3] The day before, October 14, the new *pekwĭn* was chosen. It had been difficult to fill the place—the taboos attaching to it are not slight. Apparently the choice was put off until the last moment.

The choice is made by the heads of the fraternities. Any *shiwanni* who is a *pichikwe* (dogwood clan) may be chosen.

[4] Stevenson states that a bead of turquoise is placed at the first knot, eight inches from the end. "Zuñi Indians," p. 234.

such a postponement this year—"they could not get their houses finished in time." The postponement was called for by the *shalako* personator from *heiwa kiwitsine*. He has the right to postpone if the *sayatasha* personator forego his prior right. The personators of *sayatasha* and of *koyemshi awan tachu* have charge of the *shalako* plantings.

During the *kohaiito* there are plantings every tenth day. On the first day, October 15, the place was as noted *aiayaka*, on October 25, *banita ima* (face-sitting: a face is cut on the rock of this shrine), on November 4, *anelawa an tekiapoi* (hawk hill), on November 14, *suskanashokta* (*suski*, coyote; *an*, *ashokta*, bowl). It was on this day that the ceremonial was postponed for ten days. Accordingly the next two plantings took place at the same shrine, *akohannatinawa*[2] (*akohanna*, white; *tinawa*, rock-sitting),[1] November 24 and December 4, where ordinarily there would have been only one planting. All these shrines are said to be on the south side of the river. At them all the sacred personators plant—the personators of the *koyemshi*, of the *shalako*, and of *sayatasha* and his party including the personator of *shulawitsi* and his ceremonial father.[3] Except on the last day all plant together at the same time.

On the last day—this year, I recall, December 4,—the *koyemshi* plant alone at *akohannatinawa* in the early afternoon. That evening *koyemshi awan tachu* gets the *koyemshi* masks from the house where they are kept,[4] and takes them to the river bank, to *akwia kaipa*. There the *koyemshi* all dress and "come in," going to *tehwita ɬanna*, big plaza, and thence to *tsiaa* plaza, to *kochina* (wood rat) plaza, to *hekiapa* plaza. In each plaza *awan tachu* stands the nine in a line. Then he takes *koyemshi suwe tsanna* by the hand and puts him out alone in the plaza, bidding him tell the people that four days

[1] About a mile southwest of the town.

[2] Given also as *akohannapala*.

[3] *shulawitsi's* "father" (*shulawitsi an tachu*) is the initiator of the boy into the *kotikili*, his true ceremonial father.

[4] These masks appear to be safeguarded in a house having no official distinction. They are kept, I was told, merely as a matter of habit. Were the women in the house to die out, in which case the household itself would disintegrate, the male survivor would hand over the trusteeship of the masks to another household. But see "Zuñi Kin and Clan," pp. 163 n. 2, 169.

hence *shulawitsi*, *sayatasha*, etc., will arrive. Instead of obeying, "little younger brother" says something funny to make the people laugh (*weanawe*[1] *koyemshi*). He is then put back into line by *awan tachu* and the next brought out with the same result. Finally *awan tachu* reaches *koyemshi pekwĭn*. The *pekwĭn* says a prayer and soberly announces the forthcoming arrival of the *shalako*, adding that the women are to grind corn, to clean house, and generally to prepare for the event. From *hekiapa* plaza all the *koyemshi* go to the house of *awan tachu*[2] for an eight-day retreat. During this time they go out only to get wood. They bring it in on burros. *awan tachu* does not go out even for wood. Food is brought to them by their wives and children.

Four days later, *i. e.*, this year December 8, the personators of *shulawitsi*, *sayatasha*, etc., likewise the *shalako* personators, go into a four-day retreat. There is for each group a preceding ceremonial. At dark the *sayatasha* party go to the house where their masks are kept and eat the supper the people of the house have had to prepare for them, having ground the meal earlier that day. After taking their masks to the house of the *sayatasha* personator, the party including the *komosona*, the *kopekwĭn* and the *apiłashiwanni* go to *akohannatinawa* to plant feather-sticks in the hole there.[3] On each side of this hole are mounds made of sand and spread thick with meal. A line of meal with four transverse lines is drawn from the shrine to the east. The line and the mounds have been prepared that afternoon by a *sayatasha wole*. If every-

[1] Stevenson quotes the *koyemshi* as saying among other things on this occasion: "You boys must look round for nice girls and stay with them," and again, "In eight days every one will be happy and have a good time; men should trade wives." "Zuñi Indians," pp. 235, 236. My aged informant denied that any joke at all like this would be made. And yet *shalako* night, the time referred to, is said by Zuñi women to be a time for "stealing a word with our other husbands."

In recent years restrictions, I surmise, have been put upon the *koyemshi*. During their "play" at the summer *kokokshi*, for example, the rule is that no *koyemshi* should uncover himself, *i. e.*, take off his loin cloth more than once. Last August one of them failed to follow the rule and I heard subsequently he was much criticized.

[2] Not to the ceremonial chamber of their fraternity. "Zuñi Indians," p. 236.

[3] A permanent cavity. The stone or hole represents, as Stevenson says ("Zuñi Indians," p. 237), *kołuwela*. The mounds also are symbolic, the one on the north, of *koyemshi* mountain, the one on the south, of *kokokshi* mountain.

thing is going to be all right for the year the mounds will not crack. If there is to be sickness or any other disaster, they will crack. This forecasting is called *teliunaha*,[1] a generic term. This year the mounds did crack after planting. One hundred and fifty bottles of whiskey were confiscated a few days later from visiting Navajo by federal agents. The crack, I was told at the time, was a forecasting of this loss to the Navajo. A few days after that interpretation had been made, the roof of one of the newly built *shalako* houses fell in. Although there was no loss of life, I wondered if the untoward occurrence would not be connected in thought with the mound cracking. The immediate explanation was that the house had not been properly built, *i. e.*, the ceremony of burying ground turquoise and shell beneath its floor had been neglected.[2]

At *akohannatinawa*, *shulawitsi* lights with his brand[3] which has itself been lit by a fire drill[4] the big pile of wood heaped up there. The fire brand (*optsina*, an ordinary term) is made of cedar bark tied with yucca. The party now moves on about a quarter of a mile to *ishanantekiapoi* (*ishanaue*, grease; *an*, *tekiapoi*, something above, *i. e.*, hill). Here there should be four piles of wood for *shulawitsi* to ignite.[5] This year there were only two, the ceremonial

[1] Analogous forecasting, I get the impression, is a commonplace of Zuñi ceremonialism. *teliuna* seems to be equivalent to omen. For example, seeing a light and then not seeing it is *teliuna*, an omen of a death in the family. One night, returning from an all-day excursion, my hostess found her parents-in-law at her house in tears. Driving home the old people had seen a light in the house, then they saw it go out. They went to the house to wait anxiously for the return of their daughter-in-law. A few months later their daughter died and they recalled the omen.

[2] This explanation, I have since been told, has held.

[3] It is probably because of this torch and of this particular rite Stevenson calls *shulawitsi* the "Little Fire God." The personator of *shalako shulawitsi* (there is another *shulawitsi* for the initiation into *kotikili*), was a child at *koluwela*, I have been told, at the creation of the gods. But an adult sometimes, as in 1916, takes the part. *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 241 n.d. It may be difficult to secure a boy of school age for the part. In 1915 the Zuñi governor had to intercede with the American schoolteacher. But the appointment of an adult may also be due, it is more likely, to the lack of boys in the family of *tsupala ilona*, the man making the appointment. See p. 169.

[4] Not according to Stevenson ("Zuñi Indians," p. 238) by live coals from the house of the personator of *sayatasha*. See p. 254 n. 3.

[5] According to Stevenson the piles are six in number and they are placed between *akohannatinawa* and *ishanantekiapoi*.

father of *shulawitsi* not having been sufficiently dispatchful. It is his duty to bring in the wood. Formerly without burros he took two or three days to it; now he does it the day before. Between *ishanantekiapoi* and the houses on the south side of the river there are two more big piles of wood. Here *sayatasha* gives his characteristic call, his *weana*. From this point to the field immediately on the river, *makyaaonakwatone* (*makyaa*, salt lake, *ona*, road, *kwatone*, come in, *i. e.*, the terminal of the road from the salt lake), a place important in the forthcoming ceremonial, *shulawitsi* makes four trips. He then at the last wood pile lays down his fire brand and he and his ceremonial father sprinkle it with meal. Each member of the party marches up to the fire brand and gives his *weana*. The party then goes to their house of retreat, the house of the *sayatasha* personator. During the retreat they bring in wood to their *shalako* house.

This same day, like the *sayatasha* party, the twelve *shalako* personators are to go two by two to eat in the evening in the houses of their coming retreat. When the people in the houses see the fire at *akohannatinawa* they bring out a sheep pelt, cover it with a buckskin and on the skins place the *shalako* mask.[1] Over the mask is spread a piece of white cloth. Formerly it was covered with buckskin. This bringing out is called *akemne* (*kemme*, buckskin). The light at *akohannatinawa* is a signal, too, to the *shalako* personators, a signal to proceed to the houses of their retreat. Before this their *wowe*—there are three or four to every *shalako*—had carried the mask from the ceremonial house of the *akiakwemosi* where all the *shalako* masks are kept, have carried the mask and its appurtenances[2] to the house of the coming four-day retreat—the house of either *shalako* personator or, if their houses are not large enough, to the house of one of their *wowe*.

On the arrival of the personators the *wowe* pray. The man of

[1] See "Zuñi Indians," pls. LXI, LXIV.

[2] The blankets worn by the *shalako* may be borrowed from anybody. Such borrowings take place, I think, in connection with various items of ceremonial make-up. It was taken for granted in answer to one of my questions that the very handsome Navajo blankets worn this year by *koyemshi awan tachu* and by *bitsitsi* in the *molawia* ceremony were neither the property of their personators nor blankets set aside for ceremonial use.

the house prays. Then all sprinkle the mask with meal. After eating, the *shalako* personators make each a roll of *hewe* or wafer bread containing a bit of everything they have had to eat and these rolls they proceed to take to the river.[1]

The family living in the house of retreat withdraw into other rooms. The first and fourth nights of the retreat the *shalako* group (personators and *wowe*) remain alone. The second and third nights the members of their *kiwitsine* come in and practise the song to be sung when the *shalako* are escorted in and out by the *kiwitsine* members(?). In the *sayatasha* house of retreat the second and third nights members of the fraternity associated with the group for the ceremonial come in to practise their songs, and the sacred party themselves practise their tread or steps.

The four days' retreat elapsed, before dawn the morning of the fifth day—this year December 12—the *shalako wowe* take the masks on their backs and run away with them to *akohannatinawa*, where they leave them. On their return, after a sleep, they wash the heads of the *shalako* personators. The personators then go to the house of their mother or wife to have their hair combed and tied up. Returning to their houses of retreat, they get their feather-sticks and go out to *akohannatinawa*. Planting there, they put on their masks and proceed to *ishanantekiapoi*. The *hekiapawa shalako* starts last in line, but he will run ahead if he can. At *ishanantekiapoi* there are six holes and each *shalako* takes one to plant in. They proceed to *hepatina*[2] where they again plant and pray. I watched the descent this year from *ishanantekiapoi* to *hepatina*. It occurred about 5 p.m. The party proceeded in single file, two of their attendants swinging a rhombus.[3] The ground at *hepatina* had been prepared about half an hour before by burning off the grass. Here every few minutes one of the *shalako* would leave the line and run about one hundred feet and back in a southwest-

[1] All such offerings to the *koko* or the dead are buried, I think, at *akwia k͡ʧ pa*.

[2] A shrine on the southwest edge of the town.

[3] The rhombus swinging makes wind. Wind brings snow and rain. *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 115 n.b.; Fewkes, J. W., "A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* vol. 1 (1891), p. 23, n.1. For an analogous conception of the Hopi "Thunder board" see "Traditions of the Hopi," p. 85.

northeast direction. This running is called *iłuwashke*, the usual word for racing. It is accompanied by the *shalako ishoałaha*, a clapping of the wooden *shalako* beak together with a shrill cry. From *hepatina* the group proceeds to *makyaaonakwatone*. Here there are seven excavations on the west side of the field and seven on the east side. The *shalako* plant in all the holes but the two most southern, these being the holes of the *sayatasha* party. The *shalako* then cross the river,[1] the masks are deposited on the ground and one *wole* stays with them, the personators going to their houses of retreat to have a black line drawn across nose and cheek-bones and to put on their moccasins. Returning to where the masks have been left, they pick them up and scatter to the several *shalako* houses. This coming in of the *shalako* is called *koko awiap* (*koko* coming).

It is about 7 p.m. when in front of each *shalako* house the *shalako* mask is set down, and the personators enter the house, stepping on the line of meal which starts near the door and runs to the central point in the floor, and then from it to the altar of the fraternity in charge.[2] The fraternity director has that afternoon set up the altar and laid the meal line.[3] The meal line has cross lines from two to three feet long, four between the door and the central point, and four between the central point and the altar. These lines represent the four stages made by the *ashiwi* or Zuñi in coming up from the under-world, but that the central point in the floor represented their place of coming up, as has been stated, was repeatedly denied. These cross lines are stepped on by the *shalako* personators as they come in. Reaching the central point, the elder brother *shalako* personator turns to the western wall, drawing down

[1] The bridge of mud and refuse that is built at this time is used in all the ceremonial crossings. "They would not use the American-built bridge." The river was very low and the bridge-making not onerous.

[2] The fraternities in attendance at the *shalako* houses in 1915 were: *heiwa shalako* house, *shiwannakwe; muhewa shalako* house, *uhuhukwe; uptsanna shalako* house, *matke łanna; ohewa* and *hekiapawa shalako* house, *chikialikwe; chupawa shalako* house, *matke tsanna*. In attendance at the *sayatasha* house was the *matke tsanna* fraternity and at the *koyemshi* house, the *halo'kwe* fraternity.

[3] The line is called *tetsina*, the ordinary word for mark. The line may have, of course, a sacrosant name as well.

it with his hand a line of meal. This line the younger brother *shalako* personator then strikes with a yucca switch. The north, east, and south walls are similarly treated by the personators. The personators then "plant" sticks in the placque box (*shalako an teshkwin*) which hangs from a roof beam immediately over the central point in the floor. In this central point also sticks are planted and outside the house before the door.[1] In all three cases the sticks (*łatin* > *ławe*, sticks) represent a male and female.[2] The prayers which have been said over them by their makers, the *shalako wowe*, are for increase of children and plentiful crops for the household. This ceremonial, I can but surmise, is an important item in estimating returns upon the cost of entertaining the *shalako*.

The planting concluded, the male head of the household proceeds to bring the *shalako* into the house. With his *mili*[3] in his hand he sprinkles meal from the door to the beginning of the central meal line. The elder brother personator has put on the *shalako* mask and follows the household head. Both walk on the central meal line. The *shalako* mask is then set down on one side of the altar.[4] The male household head making a meal line takes hold of the elder brother *shalako* personator and pushes him in each of the six directions, north, west, south, east, above, and below, seating him. In the same way he seats the younger brother personator. Then in the same circuit he puffs smoke from a cigarette of straw and wild tobacco, concluding with the little whirl of the cigarette in front which symbolizes, I was told, clouds and rain. The elder brother *shalako* personator puffs smoke in a similar way (*yampo'klikia*), his hands under the hands of the male head of the household. In each case

[1] Formerly under the ladder. This year for the first time in one of the *shalako* houses, the *muhewa*, the sticks were planted near the door *inside* the house.

[2] Stevenson refers to these sticks as one blue for the Sun father, the other yellow for the Moon mother. "Zuñi Indians," p. 246. They were described to me as merely the means of bringing many boys and girls to the household, as phallic symbols.

[3] The sacred feather-covered ear of corn every initiate receives.

[4] In all the instances I observed the mask when not being worn was placed on the right of the altar facing out. The altar faced east in four of the seven *shalako* houses; in the *muhewa* and *uptsanna* houses it faced south, in the joint *hekiapawa* and *ohewa* house it faced north. The positions of the altar and of the *shalako* mask at rest were, I was told, a matter of indifference.

the cigarette is held in the left hand, between the four fingers and the thumb, the palm upward. The left hand is clasped by the right hand, right thumb over left. After smoking, the elder brother *shalako* personator says a little prayer. He then says to the male head of the household: *tachimo* (my father). *talemo*,[1] reciprocates the other. The personator takes a puff and says: *papamo* (my older brother). The other reciprocates with *suwemo* (my younger brother). And so with puffs before each term of address follow: *kyakyamo*, my mother's brother, *kyasemo*, my sister's child; *nanamo*, my grandfather; *toshlemo*, answers the male head of the household; *alemo*, says the personator; *nakiamo*, rejoins the household head. The last three terms are said to be obsolete age terms which are used only in connection with sacred personages.[2] The smoking rite ("smoking the *shalako*") and the exchange of the terms of relationship are repeated by the household head with the younger brother *shalako* personator. In conclusion the household head gives the cigarette to one of the *shalako wowe* to be put into the river by him that evening.

For about two hours, the *shalako* personators now go through the prayers they have been studying all summer with their *wowe*. Opposite the personators and the *wowe* sit the men of the household. The feather-sticks these men have cut that morning the household head now gives to the *shalako* personator, giving them end first and raising the hand of the *shalako* personator in the six directions. The household head prays. The *shalako* personator prays. Bowls of meat and bread are brought in. The male head of the household and his wife stand forward and pray. The *shalako* personator prays. Both personators take pieces of the *hewe* and in them wrap a bit out of each of the bowls of food—there may be twenty or more bowls.[3] These rolls the *shalako* personators take at once

[1] "My child"; but in secular practice the term is used only by a woman speaking of her brother's son.

[2] *nakiamo* > *na* > *nana, kia, hump.* Stevenson gives *toshlimo* (grandson), *ällimo* (great-grandfather), *uwaikiämi* (great-grandson). "Zuñi Indians," p. 132. One informant gave these terms as follows: *uakyamo*, a sacred word meaning coming up; *alemo*, a sacred word for *kyauu* (elder sister); *toshlemo* from *toselu*, the sacred reed growing about springs and used only ceremonially.

[3] Three of these bowls, one of bread, one of wafer bread, one of mutton and hulled

to the river. After eating, the *shalako* personators have to spend the rest of the night and early morning dancing, one at a time, sometimes with the mask and sometimes as the Zuñi say "naked," *i. e.*, maskless. Dancing "naked," the personator carries a yucca switch and with it he would strike any person in the audience he saw asleep. If you want to sleep, you could stay at home, they say.[1] If you go to sleep, you neglect the object of your attendance, *i. e.*, to help the household in making good wishes, in wishing or praying for rain and good crops. It is to the spirits of all the dead, I infer, these wishes or prayers are addressed. For this night, "*shalako* night," the belief is general that the spirits of the dead are actually present.

To return to the procedure, the *shalako* dances to the drum and song of the members of the fraternity in attendance. These musicians sit in a circle on the right of the altar facing out. The preceding prayers have been said by the men, sitting in two lines facing one another, on the left of the altar. The *shalako* dance step is the regulation dance step, rythm marking with the right foot. From time to time at option the *shalako* breaks off to run the length of the room and from time to time he utters his *ishoałaha*. This year we found at one time during our round of the dedicated houses the *muhewa shalako* dancing in the *uptsanna* house,[2] the *uptsanna shalako* dancing at the same time. (Such visiting on the part of a *shalako* is a recent innovation.) The *shalako* houses are visited during the early morning hours by the *koyemshi* and this year they were also visited by a group from the *heiwa kiwitsine* doing a Navajo dance.[3]

wheat stew, are carried to the house of each *shalako wole* by the young women of the household. I ate the stew sent to the house of the *ohewa wole*. At that time, midnight, he was of course not at home, being in the *shalako* house, but his household, the family of his sister's son and their two guests, an old Navajo woman and I, all greatly enjoyed his stew. He lived with his sister and her husband.

[1] On one of the evenings later in the week, a much less sacred time, I saw an old man who happened to be sitting next to a boy of ten or so keep the little fellow from going to sleep by shaking him.

[2] The *muhewa shalako* house and the *uptsanna shalako* house were contiguous.

[3] Taken in by a member of the *uptsanna kiwitsine* to the room next to *heiwa kiwitsine*—it is the room in the northeast corner of *tsiaa* plaza—I watched the dancers making up for about an hour and a half. The men went from stage to stage of their

The dancing concludes early in the morning—December 13—and then the women of the *shalako* house wash the bodies of both personators. They eat. Their legs are then painted red again. In leaving their *shalako* house it is the younger brother personator who wears the mask, the elder brother having brought it in. While the younger brother is under the mask, the elder prays, gives his *ishoałaha* four times, prays again, repeats his *ishoałaha* four times, goes outside the house door, prays, repeats his *ishoałaha* four times. With the male head of the household carrying his *mili* and some sacred meal they proceed to the river bank. There the male head of the household sprinkles the *shalako* with meal and leaves the party. It was about 11.30 in the morning, December 13, when I saw the first *shalako* party arrive at the river. Crossing it, they took up a position at the south end of *makyaaonakwatone*. In the party were the *shalako* and three others, the elder brother personator and two *wowe*. They waited about half an hour, until they were joined in quick succession by the other *shalako* parties. The last *shalako* party consisted of *ohewa shalako* and *hekiapawa shalako*, and there was singing in that party[1] before they crossed the river. At the river and during the wait at *makyaaonakwatone* where the line of *shalako* was drawn up east and west the *ishoałaha* was frequently sounded. The last party to cross the river was the *sayatasha* party. Before going on to describe the ceremonial at *makyaaonakwatone* I had better describe the proceedings, during the previous hours, of the *sayatasha* party.

toilet pretty nearly at the same time, the most concerted preparation being perhaps the painting white of their legs and hands. They gathered in a circle around the small bowl of *kechipa* on the floor, and as they smeared themselves and swung their hands to dry they sang. At two or three other points in their toilet they broke off to sing and dance in a circle. And towards the close they had what might be called two dress rehearsals of their Navajo dance. The director of the *kitwisine* first sprinkled the floor for them, spurting out the water from his mouth in regular Zuñi fashion. They did not put on their masks until the moment of leaving their green room. The room had been half full of the visiting Navajo. This dance inspires them, I was told and saw, with great interest. It is so much more "finished" than their own, its prototype. Within the year the Navajo have asked the Zuñi for the masks and to their annoyance have been refused. If they had asked in the right way they could not have been refused, I was told, the right way being to present a cigarette of *owa* or native tobacco, the cigarette wrapped in feathers.

[1] All I was able to learn about this singing was that these *kiwitsiwe* have a going-away song the other *kiwitsiwe* lack. *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," pp. 256, 257.

Their masks, like the *shalako* masks, have been taken by their *wowe* the fifth morning after their four days' retreat (December 12) to *akohannatinawa* and from there after the personators have put on the masks they too pass on to *ichanantekiapoa*. From here on their route is different from that of the *shalako*. Instead of going to *hepatina*, they cross the river and visit six spots where excavations have been made for them to plant feather-sticks. The spot is temporarily marked by a small slab of stone. These spots are (1) *paltokwe*,[1] a spot located in a street which widens out a bit about three hundred feet to the east of the northeast corner of the cemetery wall, (2) in plaza *łanna*, (3) in *tsiaa* plaza, (4) in *hekiapawa* plaza, (5) at *teklanawa*, a point on the south street of the town,[2] (6) at *onawa*. The spots were visited this year in the order given; but that order is not prescribed; it depends upon the location of the house dedicated to the party, the terminal of this particular circuit. I could learn nothing of the reasons for planting in these six places except that it was to surround the town to bring it good fortune.[3] *shulawitsi* and his "father" preceded the rest of the party on the route by about ten minutes and planted ahead of them.[4] According to Stevenson, *shulawitsi* is joined at this time by three *hehe'a koko*. No *hehe'a* appeared in 1915 and I was told that they only came out when a clansman (*tonashikwe* ?) had killed a deer for *shulawitsi*. The *hehe'a* carried it. *shulawitsi's* feather-sticks have been cut by his "father," but he himself plants them.

This planting rite I unfortunately failed to see as I was engaged in watching, as I have said, the *shalako* party at *hepatina*. When I did reach the *shalako* house of the *sayatasha* party, a house this year in the very easterly fringe of the town, *shulawitsi* and his "father" had already entered. The rest of the party were being escorted up the ladder by the male head of the household. As each figure reached the roof he was sprinkled with meal by two women of the household, the house father's wife and daughter,

[1] See p. 299.

[2] See p. 326. See "Zuñi Kin and Clan," map 8.

[3] See "Zuñi Indians," 242.

[4] See "Zuñi Indians," pp. 241–2 for a somewhat different program for *shulawitsi* and his ceremonial father.

I was told, the son of the household standing with his father on the other side of the ladder near the chimney in the southeast corner. What took place in this corner of the roof during the five or six minutes the sacred personages remained there I could not see, nor was my subsequent inquiry answered. The party descended into the house by an inner ladder. This method of entering the house by the roof was the method by which the *shalako* were wont to enter the *shalako* houses,[1] too, up to a few years ago. I was told that the *sayatasha* party went through the same planting rite in connection with their house as the *shalako*, and that the only difference in the smoking rite they also performed was that the priesthood took the place of the male head of the household.[2] The *pekwĭn* goes through the rite with *shulawitsi*,[3] the *kiakwemosi łashi* with *sayatasha;* one *kiakwemosi tsanna* with *hututu*, the other *kiakwemosi tsanna* and a *shiwanni* with the two *yamuhakta*, the *apiłashiwanni* and the *apiłashiwanni an suwe* with the two *salymobia* (the yellow from *heiwa kiwitsine*, the blue from *muhewa kiwitsine*) who had joined the *sayatasha* party. That evening during the prayers the *pekwĭn*, the other *ashiwanni*, and the *apiłashiwanni* sit opposite in line to the *sayatasha* party.[4] The party prays with their masks raised up from their faces, the neck attachments or ruffs resting on the forehead. In this house as in the *shalako* houses there is an altar. It too is made up by the fraternity in attendance and that fraternity likewise supplies the music. It consisted of a

[1] Anciently every one thus entered. Hence entrance by ladder by sacred figures is an illustration of the persistence of custom in ceremonial.

[2] Stevenson states that the *sayatasha* marks the walls with meal, the *yamuhakto* switching them. The *sayatasha* makes *four* marks with his four fingers, and he begins with the northern wall, passing to the west, south and east walls. "Zuñi Indians," p. 246. I was told that this wall-marking rite was not performed at all in the *sayatasha* house.

[3] *shulawitsi* was described to me as the *pekwĭn* of the whole *shalako* ceremonial, my informant meaning that *shulawitsi* was *pekwĭn* to the *koko*. Stevenson states that *shulawitsi* is *pekwĭn* to the Sun. "Zuñi Indians," p. 33. The fact that the personator has to be of a pre-adolescent age, his virginity, I infer, thereby assured, might be held tentatively as an argument that *shulawitsi* did indeed represent the Sun and that the *shalako* ceremonial was of a phallic character.

[4] According to Stevenson, there is a particular correspondence between the priests and the *koko*. "Zuñi Indians," p. 33. I was told that the priests were present with the *sayatasha* party merely to give it distinction.

circle of eight or ten singers around a drum, in 1915 *matke tsanna*[1] members. In this orchestra as in those of the other *shalako* houses the men were for the most part middle-aged or quite elderly. They had a way of closing their eyes as they sang, which contributed to their air of tireless absorption. To their music, all the sacred personages dance or pace, all except the "father" of *shulawitsi*.[2] They wear their masks. *sayatasha* shakes his deer scapulae rattle as he treads. Like the *shalako* personators, *sayatasha* and *shulawitsi* deposit in the river[3] *hewe* and bits from the bowls of the midnight supper.

Between this all-night dancing and the appearance of the *sayatasha* party the following midday at *makyaaonakwatone* I know of no ceremonial performances. My chief informant about the parts of the ceremonial I did not see had been a *shalako wole* and his tendency, I think, was to assert that the rites of the *sayatasha* party and to a certain extent of the *koyemshi* were the same as those of the *shalako*. Since writing the foregoing I have heard that Stevenson's account of the rite at the rising of the morning star is correct. At this time the *sayatasha* and the *pekwĭn* go on the roof. *sayatasha* stretches his cord and says a prayer. On reentering the house he again stretches his cord with prayer.

We are again at the morning of December 15. Arriving at *makyaaonakwatone* the *sayatasha* party, proceeding as usual in single file, crossed on a diagonal line from the bridge to the southwest corner of the field. They then passed along the south end in front

[1] This fraternity has four divisions, *onayanakia* (road finished, *i. e.*, medicine) *itsepcho*, jugglery, *matke*, fire, and *payatemu*, music or flute players. It has approximately seventy-two members and no lapsed membership. Sixty-four members were enumerated for me by finger count. (Incidentally I note that in counting on the fingers the turning down begins with the right hand thumb and finishes with the left hand thumb).

Stevenson states that the fraternity was adopted from the Hopi. "Zuñi Indians," p. 411. My informant, as might be expected, denied this. He stated that a Hopi member had introduced the custom of going around in the daytime to cure the sick—previously they had gone at night; but that there was no other Hopi feature.

[2] The "father" of *shulawitsi* wears no mask. He has a line of black across his nose and cheek-bones. He wears ordinary dress with a large buckskin across his shoulders.

[3] Not according to Stevenson in front of the house. "Zuñi Indians," p. 254.

of the waiting line of *shalako* and their attendants. *sayatasha* pounded his tread, shaking his rattle. At the southernmost hole of the eastern row of the seven planting holes,[1] *shulawitsi*, assisted by his "father," buried feather-sticks. Meanwhile many of the younger men[2] who had been standing back of the line of *shalako* hurried up to that line to sprinkle *shulawitsi* with meal as he passed back in front of the line to the southernmost hole of the western series of holes. Planting here, he and his "father" withdrew from the field and proceeded, I was told, to *akohannatinawa*, their rôles terminated.

sayatasha, *hututu* and the two *yamuhakta* come close behind *shulawitsi*, all planting in the same hole.[3] Here too *sayatasha* "stretches" his *kohaiito* cord. I caught a glimpse of the cord before I was warned back by an old man from my post of observation. I had been no closer to the field than a Navajo ahorse and some little Zuñi boys or than the other Americans who were stationed on the west side of the field.

sayatasha and the others are also sprinkled as they pass down in front of the line of *shalako* to plant in the opposite hole. They also retire after this planting to *akohannatinawa*, where *sayatasha* plants his cord. The *shalako* now run one at a time to each of the twelve remaining holes. At each hole stands a *shalako wole*. For a minute or two he appears to be in communication with the *shalako* through the hole in the *shalako* mask. During the run, I have been told, the *shalako* says a prayer for the long life of the people. As soon as he starts to run the onlookers breathe on their hands (*yĕchu*) to pray that all may have long life. The elder brother *shalako* plants and then runs back to his place in the line. Then the younger brother *shalako* runs and sprinkles the feather-sticks. This *iłuwashke* continues for about twenty minutes. The *iłuwashke*, I was told, "tried their strength." If a *shalako* fall, it

[1] While the *shalako* were arriving on the field these holes had been dug or, I presume, reopened. See p. 192.

[2] There are no Zuñi women at *makyaaonakwatone*. They watch from the house tops across the river.

[3] They plant, I am told, because their *shalako* have been with them during the year and because they are now sending them away.

is a sign that the personator has not believed in his prayer, that he has not been *teshkwi*, more particularly continent,[1] some time during the year in connection with his planting.[2] Should one fall, the following day the personator would be whipped by a *sayaĺian*. Moreover the *salymobia* who have remained out in the middle of the field would forthwith cross the river and whip all persons they might encounter in order to "purify" them (*shuwaha*). After the *iłuwashke* the *shalako* and their attendants withdraw from the field to *akohannatinawa*.

Before and after the *shalako* departing towards *akohannatinawa* ran a number of younger men afoot and ahorse. I followed afoot, only, as I neared *akohannatinawa*, to meet them returning to the pueblo. They go out, I was told, to get the opportunity to strike at the *shalako*. The act brings them skill in hunting for the year. Having struck the *shalako* they lay them down with their heads to the east[3] and sprinkle them with meal, at the same time the personators slip out of the *shalako* masks. The personators then plant feather-sticks here at *akohannatinawa*. These feather-sticks have been cut for them by all the men of their respective *kiwitsiwe* the day before, *i. e.*, the morning the *shalako* come in. Returning to the pueblo the personators go to the house of their respective *kuku* (father's sister, or nearest clanswomen). The *kuku* prays over the personator and washes his head. He prays and then, his part concluded, he goes home. Meanwhile the *shalako wowe* have taken the masks back to the ceremonial house of the *akiakwemosi*.

We left the *koyemshi* accomplishing their eight-day retreat in the house of *awan tachu*. It begins, we recall, four days before the four-day retreat of the *shalako* personators and the personators of the *sayatasha* party. It ends consequently at the same time. On the ninth day, then, (this year December 12) in the evening, the *koyemshi* leave the house of their retreat and go to *akwia kaĭpa*, since officially they are arriving from *koluwela*. They then visit

[1] Continence "makes them strong."

[2] The fall would not be due, as Stevenson states ("Zuñi Indians," p. 241), to the proximity of Navajo or Whites or to the presence of outsiders while the masks were being prepared.

[3] As the dead are placed, likewise deer and rabbits.

the *shalako* houses and the *sayatasha* house, singing in front of each and calling out the names of the male and female heads, "naming the house" (*ashiłaalue: ashiła*, to name, *alue*, going). Continuing to their own *shalako* house, the same rites of drawing the meal on the wall, of planting and of smoking are performed that are performed upon the entrance into their house of the *shalako* and the *sayatasha* party. *awan tachu* is the officiator. In the smoking rite, however, each *koyemshi* is smoked by some male member of the household. The same night and early morning program is carried through in the *koyemshi* house as in the other houses, the *koyemshi* first praying, their masks lifted above their forehead, and the male members of the household sitting in line opposite them, and then the two hours or more of prayer terminated, dancing in their own house and visiting, as we have noted, in the other houses. The bowls of food sent out from their house go to the household of the one *wole* in attendance on the *koyemshi* and to the households of the *koyemshi*.

The following day (December 13) after the *sayatasha* party and the *shalako* have "gone out," early in the afternoon, the *koyemshi* leave their house and visit the several roof-tops of the other *shalako* houses (*haliliku*, mountain sheep).[1] They stand in line singing about fifteen minutes. One of them then descends and knocks at the door. He is not asked in, but an exchange of pleasantries and jokes appears to take place between him and the people within. In two cases I watched, this interchange concluded with an old woman of the house suddenly coming out and throwing some liquid over the *koyemshi*. Behind her trouped the young people, to whom it all seemed a great joke. The douched *koyemshi* then rejoined his mates on the house-top and they all proceeded to the next *shalako* house. They are supposed in this progress not to touch the ground,[2] no matter how high or rickety the places they must climb. Were one to fall, it would be a sign he had been incontinent at some time during the periods of his ceremonial restriction.

[1] There is a dance also called *haliliku*. It was given in April, 1917. *Cf.* "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 427.

[2] At present so many houses being separate, the rule can be only approximately followed.

During the following days the *koyemshi* are supposed to come out every afternoon to "play" in *tsiaa* plaza, because at that time the *koko*[1] are also supposed to come out and the *koyemshi* act in general as caretakers of the *koko*. Every other night, beginning the night after the night of the morning the *shalako* leave,[2] the *koyemshi* are also supposed to visit and dance in the other *shalako* houses. This year the weather was inclement, and they did not keep at all strictly to this program. The night of December 14 they did not go out but danced in their own house, and I heard of them being only one afternoon in the plaza, December 17. Earlier in the day, about one p.m., I found them playing in the plaza one of their usual guessing games. One of them picks out a man and a woman from the spectators and then *koyemshi awan tachu*, standing in the middle of the plaza, bids the couple guess what is under a blanket. On this occasion the object was a downy eagle-feather. If they guess right, each is given a present, on this occasion, it was a bowl of seed corn. I have watched these guessing games several times, each time several couples[3] being called out, and I have never seen any one go away empty-handed. Failing to guess, I am told they would be helped out. The *koyemshi* may not bring back to their house what they have taken out to give away.

The night of December 15, I found the *koyemshi* dancing in their own house. They wore across the right shoulder the fawn skin which is a part of their regular *shalako* costume. The head of the fawn falls on the left side towards the front. In their hands they carried eagle feathers. Their masks were set in line to the left of the altar, facing out. I noticed that the men were young or middle-aged, only one being over fifty, perhaps fifty-five. As usual, members of the fraternity in attendance, in this instance the *halo·kwe*, sat in a circle to the right of the altar and sang and drummed. The *koyemshi* themselves would call out from time to

[1] *sayatasha*, etc., and the *shalako* have left, but it is now the turn of other *koko* to appear. They are represented, as we shall see, by a group from each *kiwitsine*. The groups dance of afternoons in *tsiaa* plaza, evenings they make a round of the *shalako* houses.

[2] The four-day period after the departure of *shalako* is referred to as *kolinâiye* (god staying).

[3] The man and woman are unrelated.

time as they danced. The evenings they visit in the *shalako* houses (*okwatele*, go in) (this year December 16 and 17), they are also accompanied by members of the *halo·kwe* fraternity. They are led by the son of their own *shalako* house carrying his *mili*, and preceded by the fraternity members. A woman member of the fraternity carrying a *mili* preceded the other members of the fraternity. She wore a Hopi blanket and her bang fell over her face, covering it so completely that when I first saw her at some distance I thought she wore a black mask.[1] She was, by the way, the only woman to appear in the whole ceremonial. The members of the fraternity were barefoot and nude but for a black breech cloth. Their bodies were variously painted with white designs of all kinds, a narrow strip an inch or two long predominating. Out of the nine members,[2] three had white cotton patches on their chin as if to simulate whiskers.

The night of December 16, after the *halo·kwe* fraternity and the *koyemshi* had been conducted into the house—we sat this entire evening and the next in the *muhewa shalako* house—by the male head of the household—he met them, as he met each set of dancers, at the door, and he sprinkled a line of meal before them to the middle of the floor—the group formed an ellipse and made a few slow revolutions. In the centre were placed a basket of shelled corn and a bear's claw. The following procedure I was able only to catch glimpses of, so many onlookers were crowding in front of me. I may say here that the *koyemshi* at the evening dances had a greater following and a more interested and eager audience than any other group. When they danced at their own house it was more packed than the other houses. Similarly the appearance of the *koyemshi* in the plaza is always attended by spectators. There is a very vital interest in Zuñi in the *koyemshi*.[3]

[1] Only the women in the *kotikili* may wear a mask. (For the reason no doubt that masks are confined to the *koko* and to their representatives, male or female, in the *kotikili*.) Other women dancers always wear bangs over their faces.

[2] In 1891, sixteen members of the *halo·kwe* fraternity appeared. "Zuñi Indians," p. 267. In 1879 the *newekwe* fraternity was attached to the *koyemshi;* in 1896, the *matke tsanna* fraternity (*Ib.*, pp. 269, 270.) The *newekwe* were in attendance in 1916.

[3] Sacrilege against them is deeply felt. During the *shalako* ceremonial a white school-teacher was seen throwing something from the roof at a *koyemshi* in the plaza below. It was accounted an indescribable insult.

The interest expressed the night I am speaking of was enhanced by what I infer was the guessing game played within the ellipse. I saw *koyemshi awan tachu* whispering to an older man and a younger woman—they would be, I am told, the male head of the household and his daughter, and in conclusion the basket of meal was given to the young woman. The bear's claw was at one time in the hands of *awan tachu*. (The bear's claw is a property of every fraternity.) The ellipse was left open a few feet on the eastern side. After dancing by the *koyemshi* the group of *koyemshi* and *halo·kwe* left, many spectators crowding up to sprinkle the heads of the departing *koyemshi* with a pinch of meal taken from the meal bowls carried by the *halo·kwe* leader and the *koyemshi* leader. This night and the next the *koyemshi* group was the last to visit the *muhewa* house, and, I was told, in every house they close the evening's program. On the night of December 17 the appearance and the performance of the *koyemshi* varied from the night before. They were wrapped in their blankets, they wore goat-skin moccasins, and carried eagle plumes. Forming the ellipse, they moved soberly and spoke solemnly. There were no antics and their stay was brief. Practically every one in the audience sprinkled them as they passed, and every one said a prayer.

The *koyemshi* left the house where I sat, the *muhewa shalako* house, about 10.30. At midnight they were to eat in their own house—a ceremonial meal. Four times *koyemshi awan tachu* has to dip his bread into the stew. He may dip fast or slowly as he pleases, but when he has finished, the others must stop eating. And from then on to the following midnight they must fast. They must also remain awake.[1]

Two mornings before the final day of the ceremonial (this year the morning of December 16), girls go about in couples as messengers to their clanswomen bidding them wash the head of the *koyemshi* who is the child of their clan (*awan chale*, their child), before he goes out, *i. e.*, before he leaves less than three days hence for *kołuwela*.

[1] This year the *koyemshi* personators became angry because they were not allowed to sleep. Such temper was a gross violation of their rule. What they get the following day from their father's clan they have not had to work for and in return they are supposed to stay awake.

Washing his head (*chakoshoi; chale, koshoi*, wash) is in this case[1] only a figure of speech, it means to carry a basket of meal to the house of his *kuku*,[2] to pray to him there and give him their feather stick. On this same morning (December 16) women messengers also go to the men of their clan to tell them to cut their feather-sticks. They have to cut for themselves, for their *koyemshi*, for the *koko*, and for the women of their households.[3] At the same time the men are told to kill the sheep they have to present to their *koyemshi*. This mutton, as well as meal and an abundance of melons are brought in to *tsiaa* plaza the last day of the ceremonial, this year December 18. The mode of its presentation I will describe in describing the course of that day.

On December 18, about 10.30 a.m., I found in *tsiaa* plaza the *koyemshi* with their leader, six members of the *halo·kwe* fraternity including the woman leader with her *mili*, plus the *pekwĭn* walking slowly and silently about in a circle. They revolved from west to east as they had revolved inside the *muhewa shalako* house the two preceding nights.[4] The fraternity members had a red downy feather in their hair. The woman's feather was white. The leader for the *koyemshi* also wore a white feather, and a black streak was drawn across his nose and cheek-bones. The *koyemshi* wore their fawn skins, blankets, and skin moccasins. A large roll of canvas was slung over the back of each, and each carried a considerable bunch of eagle feathers. Within a few minutes the *pekwĭn* left the revolving circle and proceeded to sprinkle meal (in the form of a cross[5]) on the ground along the *kiwitsine* wall.

[1] The final day, early in the morning, their head and their whole person is washed, washed in the house of the *akiakwemosi* and by the wives of the *ashiwanni* of all the directions.

[2] The household in his father's clan most closely related by blood.

[3] They may cut for other men also. About 10 o'clock on the morning of December 18, a little girl, a cousin and a clanswoman, brought to the man of our household a feather-stick cut for him by his mother's brother. The feather-stick was to be prayed over by the recipient and then taken by his mother's brother together with his own to the *koyemshi*. In the feather-stick were feathers of the eagle, turkey, duck, blue bird (*łayaluko*) and of a black and yellow bird (*hokwish*). There should have been four of these feather-sticks, two for the *koyemshi*, two for the *koko*.

[4] They revolve four times, I was told. See too "Zuñi Indians," p. 274.

[5] I was so told; I failed to observe it.

He then took *koyemshi awan tachu* by the shoulders, turned him in the four directions and sat him down, his back against the wall. He sat the other *koyemshi* down in like manner, placing the first four west of a hole dug at right angles to the *kiwitsine* wall and the other six, east of it. Then, beginning with *awan tachu*, he marked each with his hand with a two inch line of meal down the middle of the forehead, praying the while. He left them and, sprinkling the steps in the northwest corner of the plaza, he went up and withdrew into the ceremonial house[1] of the *akiakwemosi*. Each member of the *halo·kwe* fraternity and the man of their *shalako* house now sprinkled each *koyemshi* on the head, praying. After the last *koyemshi* was reached, each fraternity member left the plaza by one or the other of its two exits. Relieved of their canvas rolls by an elderly attendant, the *koyemshi* rise and stand in a line facing the north. *awan tachu* taking the lead, each puts his eagle feathers into the hole. The man of their *shalako* house now sprinkles the *koyemshi* and leads them up into the ceremonial house of the *akiakwemosi*.

Leaving the plaza for about ten minutes, I returned to find the canvas rolls of the *koyemshi* placed at wide intervals around the three walls of the plaza and over each roll hung a dressed sheep. The *muluktakya* group of dancers were in action. Meanwhile, I was told, each *koyemshi* had been taken to the house of his *kuku* to have his head washed and his back loaded with presents. He returns to the plaza at the head of his father's clanspeople about 12.30. On his back is a miscellany of goods—mutton, cloth, wearing apparel, grocery tins, strung apples, tobacco, and one had his things packed away in a small American trunk. The *kuku* are becoming more and more lavish with these gifts, I am told. One of the gifts this year was a sack of sugar, and a sack costs $9.00. The clanswomen follow the *koyemshi*, each with a kerchief-covered basket of meal on her head. Her clothes and her buckskin leggings are new.[2] The number of clanswomen in each group varies considerably. I counted from eleven in one group to thirty-three in

[1] See map 8 in "Zuñi Kin and Clan."

[2] Every man, woman and child is supposed to have a completely new outfit for *shalako*. The fresh *banda* of the men were particularly noticeable. See page 325.

another, that last probably the *pichikwe* clan, the largest Zuñi clan. After the women come the men carrying mutton and melons. These provisions and goods are heaped upon and around the canvas roll of each *koyemshi*. The *koyemshi* help in packing their goods. In illustration of that curious mingling of secular and sacred characteristic of the *koyemshi*, I noticed two men sprinkling the masked heads of *koyemshi* engaged in holding sacks for the women to fill with meal. These stacks of supplies are left covered over in the plaza until the day's ceremonies there are completed.

There are to be noted two more rites performed this day by the *koyemshi*. About 1.30 p.m. they go one by one[1] to collect from the *shalako* houses, the *sayatasha* house excepted,[2] the feather-sticks that have been kept in the house, as we have noted, since the preceding winter solstice ceremonial. These together with the feathers in the hole in *tsiaa* plaza will be planted by them when they go out this night to *akwia kaĭpa*. Before going, about 8 p.m., they call at the houses of their father's clanspeople to collect packages of *hekusna* (*hewe*, wafer bread, *kusna*, dry). The packages are put in their fawn skin bag and they are to serve at *akwia kaĭpa* as an offering to the dead. *awan tachu* also buries his *kohaĭito* cord at *akwia kaĭpa*.

I have referred incidentally to groups of "dancers" distinct from the three main groups of sacred personages we have hitherto followed, the *koyemshi*, the *shalako*, the *sayatasha* group, and I mentioned that each *kiwitsine* sends out a group of these *koko* representatives. The *heiwa kiwitsine* presents the *toicha·kwena* (*toi*, home made); the *uptsanna kiwitsine*, the *cha·kwena* (a Laguna dance, the songs in Laguna); the *chupawa kiwitsine*, the *muluktakya;* the *muhewa kiwitsine*, the *hemishikwe;* the *hekiapawa kiwitsine*, the *mahedinisha;*[3] the *ohewa kiwitsine*, the *watempla*. With the exception of the *watempla* these dances appear to be more or less associated with particular *kiwitsiwe*. Whatever *kiwitsine* presents a

[1] Generally on their soliciting missions they go in pairs.

[2] Its *yĕchuni* feather-sticks are planted by *sayatasha* with his own feather-sticks.

[3] Not presented this year, nor for the past two or three years. *hekiapawa kiwitsine* is growing small. That is why they went into the same *shalako* house this year with the *ohewa kiwitsine*.

dance, however, members of other *kiwitsiwe* may take part, and the songs may be practised outside, *i. e.*, in another *kiwitsine*. But the head man, *i. e.*, the dance director and a few others will belong to the *kiwitsine* presenting the dance. Men will be invited to join the dance by the dance director. None would think of inviting himself. Presentation of any of the dances is not confined to *shalako*.

At *shalako* the aforesaid dancers may begin to make the rounds of all the dedicated houses[1] the second night after the *shalako* go out—this year December 14, and there was dancing that night by the *muluktakya*. The dancing and the singing are each night quite formal, but the "make-up" varies from being less "finished," to use the Zuñi expression, in the earlier evenings of the week, to more elaborate and complete in the later evenings. Each evening a few dancers, perhaps two or three, will wear masks, the last evening there are many more masks, but no evening did I see any group completely masked. The number in each group varies from evening to evening, a man participating one evening and not another.[2] But if a man took one of the star positions in the dance, he was expected, I infer, to stay on in it.[3] The number of dancers varied from about fifteen to about thirty except in the *hemishikwe* dance; the *hemishikwe* varied from seven to ten.

[1] They walk in single file as they proceed from house to house.

[2] Every male Zuñi is expected to dance once a year—until he is well past middle age. Many choose to dance during *shalako* as they may dance once then and be done with it.

[3] I had been anxious to see a certain mask, the *atoshle*. *atoshle* is said to figure in the *watempla* dance, when he comes out. He was not to have come out during this *shalako*. The rôle was not popular, I was told. No young man wanted to represent such a hideous old fellow. If he came out with the dancers he would have to stay with them. It was suggested however that if I agreed to give some tobacco he might come out and merely go through the village on his own account (he is a bugaboo mask) for then he would not have to stay with the dancers. The outcome of our negotiation was a bit irregular. It was a *heiwa kiwitsine* man who made up. Having performed one morning in the village he reappeared on the last day with the dancers in the plaza, but he appeared not with the *watempla* but with his own *kiwitsine* dancers, the *hemishikwe*. *atoshle* also appeared with the *hemishikwe* in 1880. Fewkes, *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, I, 41–2.

The man I saw playing *atoshle* was one who often played it. In connection with many of the star parts in the dances I was told that such and such a man "always took that part."

The dancers began to arrive in the house about 7.30 and group followed group until 10 or 10.30. The spectators arrive well in advance and wait patiently for the dancers to arrive. The spectators are women and girls, babies and little children, with now and then an older man. Knots of little boys will gather in corners or on a bench which they preempt and young men crowd about the door, many of them following the dancers from house to house. No night do the women stir out of the house they settle in. Benches or boxes are provided for them and I saw some of them bringing their own seats. They occupy over half the floor space.

There is but one prominent feature in these evening dances which lacks in the outdoor daytime dancing—the appearance in two dances, the *muluktakya* and the *hemishikwe*, of from three or four to seven or eight little boys, boys about ten or twelve, to personate females. The boys have their faces painted white (one night in the *muluktakya* group two of the six boys wore pink knobby masks to which downy feathers attached) and they wear across their shoulders a *pitone*, the square of cotton or silk a woman always wears outdoors. But for the *pitone*, the boys wear ordinary clothes. In the *hemishikwe* group the boys are called *kiwi'akyanakwe*, in the *muluktakya* group, *tsauwu'akyanakwe*. They all play on the notched sticks called *kiwi'anawe*, and now and then they add shrill tones to the singing.[1] In both dances the boys stand in line opposite the dancers' line and between them and the house wall. So placed they are shut out of view from the spectators, and it was not possible to see how much they took part in the dance. In moving out of the house they could more easily be seen and it was evident that their appearance amused the women much as boys masquerading as girls sometimes amuse us. The little boys themselves were a bit amused and a bit shamefaced.

The dancers go to dance in the plaza of afternoons, but sporad-

[1] According to Fewkes, at Hopi, the figures who scrape a sheep scapula on a notched stick represent the sisters of the dancers. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XIV (1901), 84, 85.

Cf. Fewkes' account of the female impersonations in the performance of the *hemishikwe* he saw in Zuñi, July 30, 1890. *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, I, 39–41.

ically, I think, and according to the weather. During the inclement weather this year I found dancers in the plaza only two afternoons, and only one or two groups at that. It is only on the last day that their appearance in public seems to be rigorously ceremonial, all the personators having to wear their masks. I have already noted the appearance in *tsiaa* plaza of the *muluktakya* about 11 a.m. on December 18. On this morning each set of dancers has to dance four times in *tsiaa* plaza, withdrawing from the plaza for some fifteen or twenty minutes between the dances.[1] The sets do not wait for one another to withdraw, but dance at the same time—forming in parallel lines. At one time I noted four sets dancing at the same time. Their four turns accomplished, they go to eat at their respective *shalako* houses, leaving the plaza free for the *koyemshi* and their clanspeople. About 2.30 p.m. all the sets return to the plaza at varying intervals to dance once more. On this return each dancer carries in his left hand four or five rolls of *hewe*, an ear of corn, and *telikinawe* of eagle feathers. The *hewe* and the corn are provided by the people of the *shalako* houses. The corn is given to the *ashiwanni* of all the directions. The *hewe* and the *telikinawe* are planted by the dancers at *kushilowa*, to which spot on the river the dancers have to go on a run immediately after their afternoon dancing.[2] It is from *kushilowa* (*ku* > *kutile*, sand embankment; *shilowa*, red), a little embankment about three-fourths of a mile southeast of the village that the *koko* start for their journey to *koluwela*. The wafer bread is provision for their journey. Before they leave the plaza the *yucca* switches are taken from them by the *apilashiwanni*, and the corn they carry by the *ashiwanni*. To those dancers who were *shalako* personators prayers are said by the *ashiwanni*. I noticed that here in the plaza the leaders with the *mili* were oldish men. They are in fact the older men of the *shalako* houses, whereas in the evening dances it is the young men of the *shalako* houses who serve as leaders.

[1] I noticed that the *muluktakya* group withdrew to *kochina* plaza, the plaza near their *kiwitsine*. Other groups stood about a corner near the termination of the southern exit.

[2] They are watched by scattering spectators on the roofs. As I stood watching with the others, a dancer crossing an open space on the edge of the village was seen to trip and fall. The people around me laughed.

While the *koko* are engaged in their final afternoon dancing, the *pekwĭn* and *koyemshi awan tachu* leave Zuñi to fetch in the *atowa awashtoki*, the corn maidens, and within an hour of the departure of the *koko* the corn maidens, etc., come in. The subsequent ceremonial, the *molawia*, is accounted the final public ceremonial of *shalako*. Except in point of chronological sequence it appeared distinct from the preceding ceremonials. I felt at liberty therefore to describe it in a separate article.[1]

The following notes on the appearance of the different sets of dancers may be of some value, although in this case as in other Zuñi ceremonials, moving picture films and photographic records are a great desideratum. Every dancer wears the regulation dance moccasins, orange and turquoise in color, with white and black bead heel band, cross design, and on the right leg the regulation tortoise shell and antelope toes rattle. On the upper arms of every dancer are blue-green bands with an upper fringe of spruce twigs and to each armlet three pendant buckskin strips finished off with turkey feathers. Maskless, every dancer wears a head band of yucca to which downy feathers are attached. A blue-black strip is painted across the nose and cheek-bones. A yucca band is around the right wrist.

cha·kwena: buckskin skirt with regulation dance belt of white, green, red and black, pendant fox skin; ⧖ ⧖ design in white on chest and on back; hair short; black lamb fur cap surmounted by a duck's head and stiff feathers. Their mask is of a black glaze, with lozenge-shaped eyes, very large red and white tooth-filled mouth from which a red flap of a tongue hangs, and black beard. They carry a gourd in the right hand, spruce or yucca and bow in the left. Instead of a drum, a rectangular skin-made bundle is beaten. ("They beat the bundle.") On the final day in the plaza this bundle is beaten by a lad gotten up as a *koyemshi*, with regulation *koyemshi* mask, black cloth around neck and black breech clout. Animal grunts (bear?) are uttered in the intervals of the singing.

There are two "stars" in this dance, *mokkai͡apona* and *tomtsin-*

[1] In *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIX (1916), 392–9. I did not at that time know that *bitsitsi* or rather *molawia anona* engaged in the *shalako* plantings. That rite somewhat integrates the *molawia* ceremonial with *shalako*.

apa. *mokkaiapona* has a white block pattern on his black mask and a long white beard. *tomtsinapa* wears a fan headdress of eagle feathers and a heavy spruce collar. Attached to his turquoise mask is a long yellow beak, first straight and then down curving (same as on *muluktakya* mask). Indoors, but not outside, he carried an unusually large spruce cutting, the trimmed end of it covered with ribbons which hung down from it. He wears a cloth dance skirt open on both thighs.

The night of December 16 one of the Zuñi *łamana* (men-women)[1] danced with the group, dressed as a woman in a Hopi blanket. At the beginning and at the close of the dance she danced in line, the rest of the time out of it and opposite to it. She was the only *cha·kwena okya* (woman) to appear, but sometimes, I was told, two or three women may be represented. The *łamana* wore a downy feather in her hair; otherwise her hair was done up in the usual fashion, bang and tied-up queue. In both hands she carried yucca.

toicha·kwena: The same as the *cha·kwena* except that the hair is long with three white downy feathers spaced down the middle of it. The stiff backward pointing feathers in the hair are bound in green and red, not by a duck's head. Their pendant tongue is brown or black. In the evening most of the dancers carried a piece of yucca and a bow in the left hand. In the plaza dancing they did not carry a bow. On the back they are marked ϑ ϑ in yellow. The "stars" are *chĭchĭlĭ* and his wife. His skirt is of black bear fur; hers, of yellow-grey. Their moccasins are bearskin, the hide outside. The mask of *chĭchĭlĭ* is black with a short, pointed black beard. In his right hand he carries a small axe with a bunch of yellow-white hair hanging from its handle. The wife of *chĭchĭlĭ* has a long white beard. She wears the woman's blanket dress, the left shoulder and arms bare in the old style. *chĭchĭlĭ* is said to throw stones at children.

muluktakya: Regulation dance skirt of Hopi cloth with red, green, and black border. Regulation belt and fox skin. A circle

[1] See Parsons, E. C. "The Zuñi *tumana*." *American Anthropologist*, vol. 18 (1916), 521–8.

of spruce twigs above belt, and above each armlet. Each dancer holds upright in the left hand a bark-peeled wand about nine feet high to the top of which several stiff eagle feathers are attached. In their right hand, a piece of yucca or a gourd. Bells are tied to the left leg with blue worsted, the tortoise shell rattle being on the right leg. A bandolier of black and white corn passes over right shoulder to left side; to it a sacred meal pouch is attached. Many strands of coral beads form the unusually deep necklace, loops of turquoise falling from them and an abalone shell is pendant in the centre of the back.[1]

watempla: A bow and yucca are carried. The colors of these masks vary, some turqouise with black snout, some white with black or with turquoise. The beaks and snouts are of different shapes. A fan of eight eagle feathers spreads up from the back of the mask. One mask was surmounted by a cross-shaped wooden piece similar to the characteristic altar piece, a fluffy feather at each point. One of the personages is *teshamikia* (echo). He mocks. (*Cf.* Cushing, F. H. in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. XXI (1882), p. 191.) He also carries a torch (*optsina*) and is supposed to burn whatever he encounters. Like *shulawitsi*, he is spotted. Another personage is the *aiu* (*aiu*, his call) *tsauwaki* (young man) whose legend or myth is given on pp. 302–7.

hemishikwe: The "star" with them is *mitotasha* (*mi* > *mili*, (?) *tasha*, long). *mitotasha* is not a *koko* from *kołuwela*. He belongs to the *newekwe* fraternity. He wears a cloth dance skirt and a Hopi woman's blanket. In each hand he carries long, straight reddish-yellow peeled twigs, the bunch tied together in three places. The turquoise mask is of the all round type with a horn-like projection from the top about sixteen inches long. This is brown-red, broken in three places with rings of white, yellow and green. It represents according to Fewkes (*Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol I (1891), p. 36) an ear of corn. The red worsted blossoms at the side have turquoise centres.[2] *mitotasha* utters shrill cries as he dances.

[1] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," pp. 83 notes b. d_1, 275, and pl. LXXIII.

[2] For further detail see "Zuñi Indians," pl. CIII, b. Stevenson gives pictures of different masks (pl. LXXV) accompanying the *hemishikwe*.

When Fewkes saw the *hemishikwe* danced on July 30, 1890, *mitotasha* "came in" the day before at sundown.

The songs sung by the dancers are or may be improvised each year and it is said that the novelty in the songs is the main attraction for the audience. Until the songs are recorded and the myths attaching to the *koko* impersonated collected—songs and myths the Zuñi are highly reluctant to impart—our knowledge of the different dances will continue to be superficial.

Mahedinasha, 1917

At *shalako*, *hekiapawa kiwitsine* customarily[1] produces the *mahedinasha* (*mahe*, usual word for faeces, *dinasha*, take away). During the past four or five years, however, they have not presented the dance at *shalako*. On January 8, 1917, they did give the dance. They repeated it the three following days. On the day of the fourth performance I arrived in Zuñi and saw it.

At 2 p.m. I found in *łanna* plaza[2] twenty-two dancers dancing in line to their own singing. In about twenty minutes they proceeded to the south side and danced for another twenty minutes before the house[3] they withdrew into for dinner.[4] In the afternoon at the usual time for dancing, about 3.30, the dancers went to *tsiaa* plaza. They now numbered twenty-four. The *newekwe* were in attendance, one playing the drum, another swinging the rhombus. A *newekwe* led the dancers. Beside his *mili* and meal bowl he carried his *newekwe* baton (*tanan*). He wore the *newekwe* cap. Towards the close of the afternoon dancing, on returning to the plaza after the usual withdrawal between songs, the dancers brought with them largess for the audience—candy, fruit, tobacco, etc. In the miscellany were a china cup and saucer and the game of *iyankolo'we*.[5] On entering the plaza these things were set down on the ground in front of the dancers to be thrown to the onlookers between the dances. In connection with this dance largess was an innovation.

Besides the late morning and the afternoon appearances cus-

[1] But not exclusively. No dance is a *kiwitsine* monopoly.

[2] Before this they had danced as usual in front of *hekiapawa kiwitsine*, in *kochina* plaza, and in *tsiaa* plaza.

[3] Hena is the name of the male head of this house. It is a house members of *hekiapawa kiwitsine* are wont to resort to. There are many such quasi-official houses in Zuñi. Different groups get into the habit of going to particular houses. The houses are, I infer, those to which the directors of the groups belong.

[4] I watched a woman bring a bowl of stew to the door of this house. A bowl of stew is said to be contributed by the household of each dancer.

[5] See "Zuñi Indians," p. 333.

tomary in all the dances, the *mahedinasha* come "out" early in the morning. They go around looking for persons at stool.[1] They give their call and whirl their rhombus until the person gets up.[2]

The *mahedinasha* wore neither dance moccasins nor dance kilts. Over their ordinary trousers they wore a buckskin skirt. A tortoise-shell rattle was tied under the right knee, and bells under the left. Two of the dancers wore the customary pendant fox skin. The upper part of the body was nude, painted in white designs and with a fox skin over the left shoulder. They wore the regulation dance armlets, with leather silver-mounted wristlet on the left wrist and yarn tied around the right wrist. In the right hand they carried yucca blades and a rhombus, the rhombus decorated with black and white lightning symbols or with other designs in black and red. Some of the dancers carried a bow in the left hand. The hair was worn flowing. The masks were black, and some of them glazed. A ten-inch snout protruded in which were a row of white teeth and at the tip of which hung a brown-red flap of a tongue. The headdress varied. In several cases it consisted of a fan of stiff eagle feathers with more stiff eagle feathers on one side of the head and a bunch of downy feathers on the other side. One headdress was made of a hawk *in toto*, two, of fox skin, one was a perforated hide skull cap (the wearer wore bear skin gauntlets and the snout of his mask was bear). The dance director wore on his head a buckskin and antlers of four or five prongs. To each prong attached a downy eagle feather. He who walked behind the leader or danced out opposite the line of dancers, *ho'wiwi* (palsied), their *nana tsanna* (grandfather little) they call him, had a hump on his back and his legs were bare. He wore moccasins and he is supposed to have put them on wrong. He sometimes wears a very long pair of shoes similarly, the right on the left foot, the left on the right.

ho'wiwi puts his shoes on wrong because he is so palsied, and he is so palsied because of all the *mahedinasha* he suffered most when

[1] See p. 293.

[2] On asking for the particular significance of this rite I got a characteristic explanation. "It is part of the dance. That is the meaning of their name and they have to do it." Some peculiar meaning or end may attach, of course, to the rite; but by my informant at least it had never been sought for.

the girls they had married became angry, turned into bees and stung them. There is more to this story about the "bee girls," but my informant did not know the rest of it. From another informant I got a fuller myth about the *mahedinasha*.

inote at *maimala* the *mahedinasha* came out. Their house was near *hanli-pinkia*.[1] A young man (*tsauwaki*) from *hawike*[2] went deer-hunting and he found the *mahedinasha*. Nobody knew them then. A *mahedinasha* was hunting deer. He killed a deer, put it on his back, went along. He saw the young man skinning a deer. He said, "Are you skinning a deer?" The young man turned quickly and saw he had a deerskin on his head and deer ears. He had a big snout and it was black. He called "U! U! U . . .!" The young man was afraid, he fainted. The *mahedinasha* took the deer off his back and sat down and looked at the young man. When the young man felt better he got up and said, "Have you come?" "Yes." "Where did you kill your deer?" "Down the hill." "Where do you live?" "Over there where *maimala* is." The young man took out his sacred meal and prayed and put it on the head of the *mahedinasha*. The *mahedinasha* said, "Thank you for putting the meal on me." The *mahedinasha* said, "I must be going home." He put his deer on his back. He said to the young man, "You shall always kill deer because you put the sacred meal on me." The *mahedinasha* went. The young man finished skinning his deer, put it on his back, went home to *hawike*. When the boy reached home his father took off the deer. His mother gave him something to eat. When he finished eating he said, "I have found some people called *mahedinasha*. The *mahedinasha* said to me, 'We live at *maimala*.' The *mahedinasha* told me I could always kill deer when I go hunting. He told me to come again." The father told his son to go again. In a few days he went again to the *mahedinasha*. There was *ho'wiwi* at the top of the hill. *ho'wiwi* said, "Are you coming?" "Yes." "Where are going?" "To hunt some deer." "Come in." The young man went into the *mahedinasha* house. It was a big room full of *mahedinasha*. He said, "*konatotewannanteae*" (How do you do?). They all said, "*ketsanashe*" (happy). They put a seat out for him. He sat down. The *mahedinasha* said, "You found us. When you go home you must make a cigarette and give it to us and we will go to your house." When they finished talking, the young man took out his meal and prayed to the *mahedinasha* and put meal on the head of each. They said, "Thank you for putting the meal on our heads." The young man went out and killed a deer (*ma'we*).[3] He skinned it, put it on his back and went home. When he reached

[1] A place famous in the traditions of migrations. See p. 299.

[2] This may be Hauicu, a site fifteen miles southwest of Zuñi, given by Bandelier, "Final Report," Pt. I, *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America* Amer. Ser. III, (Cambridge 1890) p. 133, as a cite of old Cibola.

[3] Antelope. In view of this origin myth and of the antlers worn by the dance director, I surmise that the dance is an antelope dance. It is also tempting to see a pun on antelope and faeces in the derivation of the term *mahedinasha*.

home, his father took the deer, he put a blanket over the deer. He put some white beads around its neck, he put meal on its head. The mother gave the young man something to eat. They smoked. When they finished smoking, the young man said, "Father, I have found where they live. You have to make a cigarette for me to take to them." At night the father made the cigarette and gave it and some *hewe* and some meal to the young man. He went at night, he put them on the ground. The *mahedinasha* came and took them from the ground. Four days later they came to dance at *hawike*. The fourth morning early (*chamle*) they came to dance. Everybody looked at them but did not know who they were. The young man knew. They went into the young man's house when they finished dancing. The *pilashiwanni* called out to cut the prayer feather-sticks for them and give them sacred meal. At sundown (*yatuṇkwatopa*) the people gave them prayer plumes and sacred meal. They went home to *maimala*. When the people came to *halona*[1] the *kołuwela* people (*aho'i*) came to dance, and the *mahedinasha* came too. After they finished dancing they too went to *kołuwela* and that is the way they went to *kołuwela*.[2]

[1] Old Zuñi. Today the site of "Kelsey's store." *Hepatina* is adjacent.

[2] According to another informant they still live at a hill "this side of *kołuwela*."

Hilili, 1917

hilili was danced in 1917 on January 15 and repeated by request the five following days. The persons who asked in turn for a repetition were: Naĭkiatiwa, director (*mosi*) of the *pechotsilo·kwe* fraternity, Okash, *alaho shiwanni* (South *shiwanni*), Tsawele, *apiłashiwanni mosi* (bow priest director), the *kiakwemosi łashi*, and the *pekwĭn*. In 1916, *hilili* was danced from January 29 through February 4. It is, I was told, a particularly popular dance. In 1916 it was presented by *muhewa kiwitsine;* in 1917, by *heiwa kiwitsine.*

January 12, 1917, I arrived in Zuñi and that night as well as the two nights following "they were practising their songs,"—thirty-six of them they had prepared,—in the house of their *wole.* That house was their ceremonial house during the period of their dancing. It is a house near *heiwa kiwitsine*, the house which entertained the *heiwa shalăko* in 1915 and whose roof fell in during the *molawia.*[1]

In attendance was the *halo·kwe* fraternity, supplying, according to custom, the leader with his *mili* and sacred meal. The choir composed of a dozen or more members[2] sat in the place always occupied by the choir in *tsiaa* plaza, the northeast corner. *koyemshi* were in attendance. They were not however the regular or *shalako koyemshi*, for these personators, not yet having planted their first *shalako* plumes, could not "come out." The *koyemshi* who did "play" came from *uptsanna kiwitsine.* Their ceremonial house lay to the east, just across the street from the house the *hilili* were "in." It was a house in which the *uptsanna shalako* was one year entertained and which has since been used ceremonially by the *uptsannakwe.*

There were in line about thirty dancers—the number increased during subsequent repetitions by two or three. (The rule is that

[1] See p. 284 n. 1..

[2] They belonged not to *heiwa kiwitsine*, but to various *kiwitsiwe.*

a personator may join in the dance after it has begun, but once he has joined the group—either of dancers or of *koyemshi*—he must stay with it to the end). In this number were included two or three women figures. There were also two "stars" dancing out of line and opposite the line. I will describe the appearance of the dancers, of the choir and of the leader in turn.

The male dancers in line wore the regulation turquoise-orange dance moccasins, the regulation turquoise and white or white, red, green, and black dance kilts with pendant fox and with spruce twigs above the dance belt. Yucca fibre was tied below the knee and yucca blades were carried in each hand. They wore anklets trimmed with bits of tin, and hung from the right shoulder of several dancers and pendant on the left side were a bandolier and bag of buckskin. A few cartridges were fastened to the bandolier near the bag. The bag was a scalp bag, I was told, and every two cartridges[1] represented a scalp taken. This was bow priest paraphernalia. The body was painted either raspberry or black and yellow with a snake design in white cotton on body and knees. Around the neck and shoulders was a wild cat (*tepikewe*) skin. The legs of all were painted yellow. The mask was black, turquoise, and white with a rectangular design at the eye slit. It had a long white or yellow-white beard, the upper line of which showed over the black mouth slit and a fan of stiff eagle feathers projected from the right side and on the left either a bunch of variegated feathers or a placque with sun or star design. At each temple, a stiff eagle feather projected at right angles. The top of the mask consisted of a duck head pointing backwards with fluffy and stiff feathers forward. The mask was of the round type and on the back were painted snake designs. A multicolored snake was mounted on the right side of the mask, its head falling in front and reaching to the chest. Formerly, fifteen years or so ago, only the dance director was "allowed" to wear this snake ornament.

The female dancers (men, as usual, personating women) wore the regulation women's moccasins, and over the cotton petticoat

[1] Arrowheads, originally. See "Zuñi Indians," p. 588. Nor am I certain that the substitution was not merely in the mind of my informant.

and skirt, the regulation *pitone* and *yatone* (black blanket dress). In each white painted hand they carried erect an ear of corn set in spruce twig, one figure carrying yellow corn, another red, another black. (There were days when this distribution was not closely followed.) On the crown of the head was a circlet of yucca fibre and downy eagle feathers were fastened to the hair on top. The mask was a small face-covering shape, the profile straight but for the angle at the chin.

The two "stars" wore the regulation dance moccasins, white and turquoise dance kilt, regulation dance belt with fox skin pendant and regulation dance armlets. To each arm was tied with white cotton an eagle wing. On the back was a rectangular shield or placque. The design on it was two turquoise panels divided by lines of yellow and black with a small black and white rectangular pattern on the top of the upper panel and at the bottom of the lower. Around the placque was a fringe of red yarn. Four stiff eagle feathers were crossed at the top of the placque and at its base was a fan of eagle feathers like a spreading tail. Bells were fastened with black yarn below the knee and a bell was carried in each hand. The right leg, the left side of the chest and the left arm were painted yellow; the left leg, the right side of the chest and the right arm, turquoise, the colors on the chest being divided by black lines with a black band across below the stomach. The mask was set into a heavy spruce collar. The mask was turquoise with black eye and mouth lines and with a long hooked beak, yellow at the base, black at the tip. On the back of the mask were a rosette of ribbons and a large artificial yellow flower. On top of the head was a large bunch of fluffy eagle feathers and some fluffy yellow feathers.

The figures in the choir were nude but for breech cloth and blanket. The mask was the same shape as that of the female figures, but the design was somewhat different and the basic color of one was not white but turquoise. In the left hand each carried two stiff eagle feathers, in the right, a red gourd rattle.

The *halo·kwe* fraternity leader wore his usual gala clothes (velveteen shirt and silver belt) plus a large deer skin draped over the right shoulder. In his hair on top were the usual fluffy eagle

feathers and around his head a circlet of yucca. Painted across his cheekbones were the blue-black lines always painted by the fraternity director with prayer.

The dancers came out about noon and made the round of the four plazas—*lanna*, *hekiapawa*, *kochina*, and *tsiaa* singing a few songs in the first plaza,[1] one song in the second and third, and a number of songs in the fourth plaza. They then withdrew into their ceremonial house for dinner to come out again about 3:30 for the afternoon dancing in *tsiaa* plaza. The *koyemshi* came out to play as usual earlier in the morning. They did not accompany the *hilili* in the morning, but were in attendance on them in the afternoon, "valeting" them, swinging the rhombus and amusing the audience in the intervals of the dance. In the afternoon, after performing for twenty minutes or so, the *hilili* would withdraw from the plaza for intervals of a few minutes to stand around the corner opposite the church. After their final withdrawal from the plaza they usually sang one song in front of the *koyemshi* ceremonial house and one in front of their own before retiring into it.[2] Between songs in the plaza the dancers would break the line, forming three more or less irregular lines, and emitting short and rather sharp calls. At the same time they took mincing steps and bobbed their heads. Their behavior was unmistakably imitative of birds. The movement of birds was also strongly suggested by six or seven of the last dancers to leave the plaza. They would linger about to start up quickly to join those who had left. The movements of the two "stars" were suggestive of birds even during the dance proper. They would take squatting or perching positions and wave their winged arms. Each song closed with a characteristic drooping of the arm-wings and a settling down of the body on the heels.[3] This movement was indicated in the

[1] Had they not been asked to repeat by onlookers they would have sung here but once, I was told. One of those who asked for an *encore* was a mere lad and the older men standing about laughed at the request, laughing, I was told subsequently, because so young a fellow had ventured it.

[2] They danced in their house of evenings, the *koyemshi* visiting it. This dancing was not open to the public and I was not invited in.

[3] My informants asserted most positively that the dancers did *not* represent birds (or snakes); they were merely *koko*. The stuffed snakes were worn to make them look *atan* (fearful, terrifying).

music. Between songs, the dance director, *i. e.*, the central figure in the line, would step up to the choir as if giving them a direction. The "stars" were always the last to leave the plaza, staying behind, in the afternoon dancing, to dance or play with the *koyemshi*. The *koyemshi* would imitate their movements. On one occasion three *hilili* staying behind danced in line with *koyemshi*. When in jostling one another the *koyemshi* jostled the *hilili*, the *hilili* chased the *koyemshi*, beating them with their yucca spears. At the close of the afternoon dancing, according to the usual custom the leader sprinkled the *koyemshi* with his sacred meal.

As the afternoon of the first day of the dance wore on, one of the dancers threw to the audience up on the roofs and sitting on the floor of the plaza peanuts and tobacco bags and apples which had been strung together in a ring. "Each day they will throw more," I was told. And they did, bringing into the plaza bunches of corn, strings of apples, bread, and even bottles. The *koyemshi* would take these things in charge until, the song concluded, the dancers took the things back to throw them to the audience. Now and then a dancer would continue throwing after the dance had begun. This largess led to much shouting and scrimmaging. Old men scrambled with boys. Once I saw a very old man rolling on the roof with three youngsters trying to pull a kerchief away from him. Even an older woman sitting on the floor of the plaza would occasionally tug against another woman. To all it appeared a great joke, and there was never a sign of temper or fight.

Towards the end of the last song in the afternoon, a priest (the first day it was Tsawele, the other days it was probably one or another of the *ashiwanni*) passed along the line of dancers sprinkling each with the sacred meal and relieving the women figures of their ears of corn. Carrying the corn, the priest withdrew up the steps in the northwest corner and into the ceremonial house of the *akiakwemosi*. It is this little rite which appears to give the dance its Laguna name, *yakohanna*, a word for corn. Its Zuñi name *hilili* is said to be from the dancers' call, a call that was formerly *ululu*.

About twenty-five years ago this dance was introduced either

from Acoma or Laguna. The "star" figures were introduced, according to one informant, six or seven years ago from the Hopi, introduced by a Hopi visiting Zuñi.[1] In ascertaining the provenience of the dance I had an excellent opportunity to observe the characteristic unwillingness of the Zuñi to admit the fact of borrowing. An elderly informant stated that the *hililí* had always been held at Zuñi and that there was nothing like it elsewhere. Another informant made the same statement, but when he realized that I knew the dance had a foreign origin he claimed that two of its figures had always been among the *watempla;* it had merely been added to and made into a separate dance by a Zuñi who had seen it danced at Acoma. This informant also added that at Acoma women take part, and that the dancers are not *koko*, a way of saying, I surmise, that "after all it was not the same thing at all."

[1] They may be the Eagle personage Fewkes describes as an avian Sun God. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XIV (1901), 87–9.

See "Hopi Katcinas," pl. VI, for what appears to be *hililí* among the Hopi. The *katcina* is called *helilülü* from the tin cone trimming of the kilt, suggests Fewkes. In Zuñi the trimming is called *kililiwe*.

NOTES ON ZUÑI

PART II

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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NOTES ON ZUÑI

Part II

By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

Newekwe and Koyemshi

ZUÑI is rich in "delight makers." It has two sets—the *newekwe*, a group organized as a fraternity, and the *koyemshi*, a group whose head is chosen annually by the *ashiwanni* of all the directions. How has this duplication occurred? The capacity of the Zuñi to assimilate ceremonial is one of their striking characters. The existence of two sets of sacred clowns points merely, I surmise, to a two-fold provenience. Until we have fuller comparative studies of Pueblo ceremonialism the problem of provenience thus raised must remain open.[1]

According to tradition the *newekwe* are the oldest but one of the Zuñi fraternities. The story goes that there were once in the first fraternity, the *shiwanna·kwe*, two men and one woman. They were old and alone. The two children of the Sun said to them, "It is too bad you are alone. Take the rubbings of your skin. Make of them a little figure. Cover it up and sing over it." They did this and a little boy came up. He was never still. He talked all the time. What he said was all the same to him; he did not

[1] At Acoma and Laguna the counterparts of the *newekwe* are the *kachale*. *Cf.* the Inverted Warriors of the Plains Indians. Lowie, R. H., "Plains Indian Age-Societies," *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XI, pt. XIII, pp. 900–1. *koyemshi* appear not to be known at Acoma. At Laguna they are called *kumeyoish*. The Laguna myth of their incestuous origin is similar to the Zuñi myth. *Cf.* Parsons, E. C., "The Antelope Clan in Keresan Custom and Myth," *Man*, December, 1917. Laguna was not settled until 1699. Among its immigrants were Zuñi. The Sia have two sets of "delight makers, the *koshairi* and the *querä·nna*," "The Sia," p. 71. Cushing holds that the *koyemshi* are derived from what he calls the western intrusive stock. "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 366–7. *koyemsi* are mentioned in a Hopi tale. "The Traditions of the Hopi," p. 239. See too "Hopi Katcinas," pl. VIII.

care about the effect. The little boy was the first *newekwe*.[1] And today, although none takes offense, a *newekwe* is regardless of all rules. He will say the very opposite he means.[2] He will even speak in Mexican or English before a *koko*, speech forbidden to all others.[3] He will call out in the plaza the name of a deceased person, a breach that under any other circumstance the family of the deceased would resent.

The first *newekwe* was called *bitsitsi*,[4] a name not given to his representative today, however, except when he comes out in the *molawia* ceremonial. *payatemu* is another name, according to Stevenson, for *bitsitsi*, and she gives a legend of his relation to the Sun.[5] *bitsitsi* is referred to, I learned, as *yatokia payatemu* (sun musician).

In regard to the other sacred personages connected with the *newekwe* my information is meager. It is information which is imparted most unwillingly. Besides *bitsitsi*, there are three *koko*, *tomkappa* whose cry (*weana*) is "hilili huhu," *mitotasha* whose cry is "hu! huhu! hu . . .!," and *koko łanna* (big) who cries "hu! huhu! huhu! hilili hu hu!" *mitotasha* comes out in the *hemishikwe* and the *watempla* dances.[6] The others appear only at initiations. The mask of *koko łanna* is black and white.[7] These *koko* come

[1] The origin myth of the *kachale* is similar. *iyatik* (the corn fetich is so called) had two sisters, *e'shsitik* and *nostitik*. *masawi* was their son, their only son. His mothers made food for him and he started out to find the Sun. He went south, north, west, east. The fourth time he started they were worried over him. *iyatik* said, "Let us not be so sad." She rubbed her hands and from the rubbings came out *kachale*. Over their opening she put a rainbow so he could play over it, back and forth. Creation from cuticle figures in Hopi Tales. "The Traditions of the Hopi," pp. 6, 7, 8, 15, 27.

[2] See "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 439–41. This convention Cushing appears to interpret as a kind of scapegrace device.

[3] The following anecdote illustrates the strictness of this taboo. One day a *koyemshi* called a little boy wearing a spotted coat "Little Owl," saying he must have come from Owl Spring, a spring near *towa yalene*. "What is your mother's name?" asked the *koyemshi*. "Mommer," said the child, and the *koyemshi* fled.

[4] Having in mind the whistle of *bitsitsi* I note that *beĕt'sŏs* is the Navajo term for a whistle which imitates the cry of an eagle or hawk. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 403.

[5] "Zuñi Indians," p. 430. See "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 433 ff.

[6] See pp. 214–5.

[7] But see "Zuñi Indians," pl. CIII.

from and return to *lutkyanakwe* (*lu* > *luwa*, ashes, *tkyana*, spring), the spring six or seven miles away from Zuñi on the way to Ojo Caliente. It is from here the grey clay is brought for the *newekwe* make-up.

bitsitsi, the director of the fraternity or *nemosi* (*ne* > *newekwe*, *mosi*, director), was prepared for the journey he took to find those refugees, the corn-maidens, by sandhill crane. Today the *nemosi* must be a *kolotakwe* (sandhill crane). In the *molawia* of 1916 the *nemosi* impersonated *bitsitsi*. The year before, however, he did not, and I have been told that any *newekwe* may personate *bitsitsi*. The personator of the ceremonial father of *bitsitsi* in the *molawia*, however, should be a sandhill crane.[1]

The present *nemosi*, a sandhill crane clansman, was the member who became eligible this autumn (1915) when the office of director was vacant. Although he was the most recent initiate and although he had not been initiated into the *onayanakia*[2] (*ona*, road, *yanakia*, finished) or medicine order of the fraternity, he was made *nemosi*. First however he was initiated into the *onayanakia* because the *nemosi* has to belong to that order. Like the other fraternities the *newekwe* have not only the *onayanakia* order, but the *itsĕpcho* or jugglery order. To the practice of *itsĕpcho*, however, they are not much addicted.

As Stevenson pointed out[3] the *newekwe* are much given in their play to mimicry or burlesque. On January 12, 1917, they were out with the *mahedinasha* dancers and in the morning I saw them give in the *tsiaa* plaza a take-off on witch hanging. Nine *newekwe* were out. All but two middle-aged men were older men. One of the two middle-aged men was the *nemosi*. He proceeded to call down one by one from the house-tops nine young men. They dropped their blankets and the *newekwe* tied their hands behind their backs. A rope was thrown over a beam projecting from *heiwa kiwitsine* and one end of the rope was tied to the leg of one of the victims. This young man kept up a running talk with the

[1] See "The Zuñi *Molawia*," p. 399.

[2] One of the terms peculiar to the fraternities.

[3] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," pp. 437–8. The boy *newekwe* who was set up on the mock altar on that occasion to represent the *santu* is still called at Zuñi the *nesantu*.

newekwe. He was one who was usually called out by them, for he was their "child" (*chale*). He had been cured by them of nightmare, but he had not yet been initiated. Presently *an chale* freed himself from the rope and aided by another young man proceeded to turn the tables on the *newekwe*. They freed the other young men and all tied a rope around the *newekwe* bunched together, the *nemosi* in the middle. The rope over the beam was tied around the waist of the *nemosi* and he partly scrambled up the wall and window ledges and was partly hauled to hang head down from the beam. When he was let down, *an chale* took the miniature bow he carried and the yucca spears, and the other young men took from the other *newekwe* their yucca spears, bow and yucca being tokens of the bow priesthood they were caricaturing. Two *newekwe* withdrew a little to the east side of the plaza and, facing east, prayed aloud. Upon them and upon the others standing in line along the north wall each young man sprinkled meal. In conclusion the young men helped themselves to the ears of corn[1] piled up on two blankets on the floor of the plaza.

In the afternoon, before the dancers appeared, the *newekwe* were out again, capering about, mauling one another and in general acting the clown.[2] The onlookers would throw things, fruit, tobacco, etc., for them to scramble for and trick each other. The *nemosi* made out he was lame and negligible until a kerchief fluttered down near him, when he pounced on it and made off, chased by the others. Another pretended to be looking for something under the leg of a little girl sitting on the ground. Others dropped things thrown to them into the front of their trousers. One pretended to be hitting some object held to represent a penis. After the dancers appeared all antics ceased as usual and the *newekwe* stood for the most part in a line between the dancers and the north wall. One swung a rhombus, another beat the drum. The batons (*tanan*) which in the morning they had carried in their hands in the afternoon were propped up against the wall in a row on the bench in the northeast corner.

[1] The corn you receive from the *newekwe* (or *koyemshi*) you may neither eat nor trade. You must plant it.

[2] Zuñi who have seen our clowns call them the American *newekwe*.

On this occasion as usual the *newekwe* wore merely old clothes and moccasins with their hands and face stained grey and their peculiar tight fitting cap of sackcloth smeared with grey clay from *lutkyanakwe* and trimmed with three knobs of corn husk, one on each side, and one on top. The *nemosi* also wore a stiff eagle feather on either side of his head. He was also a bit togged out in a woman's velvet bodice. Another *newekwe* wore a stiff eagle feather on one side of his head and a bunch of downy feathers on the other. Two or three downy feathers worn by the others in their cap in the morning were not displayed in the afternoon. All wore the characteristic black cord around the neck.

The play of the *newekwe* is of a more improvised character, I am told, than that of the *koyemshi*. In consequence it holds the attention of the onlookers. "People want to see what they will do." One of their recent inventions was to rig up a telephone from their ceremonial house, a double-doored house on the northwest corner of town as you turn into *kochina* plaza, to *tsiaa* plaza and to have the people there guess what *koko* was talking. As the *koko* are supposed not to talk, this device was illustrative, by the way, of the license allowed the *newekwe*. The *koko* was the *muatoshle* (*mukwe*, Moki, *atoshle*) and he subsequently appeared in the plaza and chased people.[1]

We noted that the irresponsible speech of the *newekwe* was explained by their origin myth. When I questioned concerning the use of excrement which figures in their initiation rite and in their ceremonial outdoor "play"[2] the origin myth was again referred to. They made use of excrement because the first *newekwe* was "not made out of anything nice." This explanation was, I guess, extemporized.[3] The traditional explanation or part of it was given me,

[1] *Cf.* the antics of the "clowns" in the Hopi katcina dances, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XII (1899), p. 87, n. 1.

My *newekwe* informant told me he had visited the *mukwe*, *i. e.*, the Hopi and that they had *newekwe*.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," pp. 430, 437.

[3] And yet the filth eating habits of the *kachale* are explained also in one of their origin myths. When the *kachale* were still underground, *i. e.*, before the emergence, they were disobedient to their mother *iyatik*. *ba'cheani*, a wicked one, a pseudo *cheani* (priest) led the *kachale* astray by showing them *wâiishgenai* (jugglery, taking

I believe, on a later occasion.[1] Since medicine roots and herbs are named after (associated with?) animals, it is a matter of indifference whether the plants themselves are used or the ordure of their respective animals.

The *newekwe*, like the other fraternities, practise not only white magic but black. All the fraternities have "incantations" for harm; but those of the *newekwe* are particularly notorious. It is said that the *nemosi* dies prematurely. It is a fact that the last *nemosi* died before his time. During my last visit to Zuñi it was reported to us one day that the night before one of the *łewekwe* fraternity had dreamed that the premature death of the *nemosi* was caused by a certain group of *newekwe*, four or five, who belong to the same household. The present *nemosi* is likewise to die at their hands. Another day I heard that the night before a *newekwe* had paid a visit upon one of my informants, himself a *newekwe*, an aged man in poor health. To the household, the *newekwe* visitor appeared to be sitting for a time with bowed head muttering to himself. The next morning the old man was much worse. And there was no doubt in the minds of the household to what the setback was due.

The present *nemosi* was initiated into the fraternity twelve years ago because he had touched by accident the penis of a *newekwe* while *teshkwi*. My *newekwe* informant was given to the fraternity as a child because they cured him of smallpox.[2]

Several of the women members of the fraternity have dropped out, but there are still ten or eleven women who will plant their feather-sticks at full moon and who will attend the winter solstice meeting. There are six or seven men now living who have dropped out of

things out of the mouth). They liked *wa͡iishgenai*, but their mother did not want them to practice it. She wanted them to be like the other *cheani*. She shut them up for four years during which time they drank and ate their own ordure. When their mother *iyatik* let them out she bade them find *ba'cheani* and punish him. They followed him south and overtook him as he was reaching a big lake. They caught and killed him and threw his body into the lake. (Mexicans come from the south, that is why they are mean, too).

[1] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 430.

[2] Another smallpox convalescent I heard of was given to the *łewekwe* fraternity, another, to the *matke tsanna*.

the fraternity altogether.[1] Even the regular members seem reluctant to go "out." For example the *nemosi* came out alone in the Navajo night dance in the autumn of 1915 because he could get none to "play" with him.[2] As another evidence of the decay of the fraternity is the fact that *koyemshi awan tachu* has not been chosen from its membership for at least fifteen years.[3] Formerly the *newekwe* were one of the four fraternities taking turns in supplying the *koyemshi*.[4]

Between the *newekwe* and the *koyemshi* there is an even more interesting connection. Unlike most of the Zuñi masks *koyemshi* masks are kept intact from year to year. But in course of time they wear out and have to be renewed. They are renewed by three men, two must be members of *matke łanna* fraternity, and one a *newekwe*.

In 1916 the *koyemshi* masks were renewed[5] and in connection therewith a most interesting fact was learned. In the knobs of the masks are placed bits of soil collected with a little paddle from the tracks around the town. Through this use of human footprints the *koyemshi* have power over the people. We can understand now why the *koyemshi* are held in such reverence and why any slight put upon them is supposed to be punished so severely. To begrudge them anything "even in your mind" is disastrous. A story goes that on one of their domiciliary food begging trips a woman refused

[1] According to the fraternity census taken by Dr. Kroeber only seven of the forty-two members had dropped out, six men and one woman. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," pp. 155–6.

[2] He was a host, however, in himself, I was told. He kept the people laughing all the time. Among other devices he called out from the house-top that he had a message from Mr. B., the Indian agent, that if any man or woman talked to another person's husband or wife, he, Mr. B. would have them brought before him in Black Rock. At first the people took this as a *bona fide* communication.

[3] The *newekwe* supplied personators of the *koyemshi* in 1891. There were at Zuñi that year unusual wind-storms and a *shiwanni* told Mrs. Stevenson the storms were due to the *koyemshi* being *newekwe*, the *newekwe* not speaking the old language. "Zuñi Indians," p. 273. The reason given me by my *newekwe* informant for the falling out of the fraternity was that there was none in it qualified to take the part of *awan tachu*.

[4] In the 1916 *shalako*, the *newekwe* were the fraternity in attendance upon the *koyemshi*.

[5] The cloth for them was woven by a Hopi resident at Zuñi.

them. It was all the worse because she was their mother (*awan tsita*), the female head of the household entertaining them at *shalako*. Her house was on the outskirts of the town. Before the *koyemshi* had reentered the town, a child of the woman's household was so badly burned that the following day it died. Once during *shalako* I overheard a woman[1] protest after she had been invited by clanswomen and bidden "wash the head" of her *koyemshi, i. e.,* contribute a bag of meal. "Why do they want me to wash his head, anyway!" she had exclaimed. "Hush!" said her young daughter. "Something will happen to you or to your children if you say anything against the *koyemshi.*" Something had happened to the little girl's grandfather when years ago he had criticised a *koyemshi;* he lost the sight of one eye. More recently another man was kicked in the eye by a horse because he had complained of a kinsman consenting to personate a *koyemshi.* The man lived with his sister and the two were very poor; but as she was *kuku* to the *koyemshi* personator she would have to give him certain supplies. "Why didn't he think of us?" had exclaimed *an papa*, her elder brother. Then *an papa* was so badly injured the American doctor was called in to sew him up.

There can be little doubt, I think, of the phallic character of the *koyemshi.*[2] Their origin myth and their very name have this character. So have many of their jokes and practices. The *kokokshi* ceremonials are thought of as having a stronger rain- or snow-compelling character than other ceremonials, consequently more of a phallic character. And we have noted that the attendance of the *koyemshi* upon the *kokokshi* is obligatory.[3] Their attendance

[1] The wife of a Zuñi, but not herself a Zuñi.

[2] For the phallic character of the *koshare* and *cuirana* of the Keres, see Bandelier, "Final Report," pt. I. pp. 286–7.

[3] The afternoon "play" of the *koyemshi* which I saw on August 26, 1915, prior to the coming out of the *kokokshi*, had a markedly phallic character. After a ring game in which the two *koyemshi* left in the ring had carried the others one by one in the chair made by their hands to the west side of *tsiaa* plaza and had seated them on the ground in a row, one in front of the other, two men were called down from the house-tops. The two men flattened the sitting-up *koyemshi* prostrate and proceeded to turn back their aprons. The two men then made on the right of each *koyemshi* what looked like a small ring of gravel. This, I was told, was "the woman." The *koyemshi* then jumped up, caught the two men after a good-natured struggle, stripped them sufficiently to expose their parts. The two men then escaped up the ladders.

may be necessary because of the phallic character attributed to them.[1] Phallicism is, we know, of two types, the one emphasizing continence, the other incontinence. There are a few shreds of evidence that once at Zuñi there was a certain amount of ceremonial promiscuity.[2] Today, however, ceremonial continence is the conspicuous feature. The phallicism of the *koyemshi* is of the type which emphasizes continence rather than incontinence. During the summer *kokokshi*, for example, the penis of each *koyemshi* is tied with cotton. It is tied, the Zuñi say, to preclude erection.

[1] It is more likely, however, that the association between *koyemshi* and *kokokshi* is due to a common provenience.

[2] See p. 188, n. 1.

Ceremonial Continence

The observance of continence is an essential part of ceremonialism at Zuñi. It is required of the priests during their retreats and the performance of ceremonies and of the *pekwĭn* the greater part of his life. It is required of the personators of sacred personages during their retreats and during impersonation, and it is required of all laymen after feather-stick planting. Other requirements may be added on certain occasions, but continence appears to be the always indispensable condition of being *teshkwi*, "sacred."

The detail of the observances I have just summarized I will now describe. For one month after the harvesting the *pekwĭn* may have intercourse with his wife; but, it is suggested, after a year or so of office he will not want intercourse even during that period. "His wife becomes like his mother." Although continence is expected of the *pekwĭn* most if not all of the time, at certain periods incontinence would be particularly grave, at the time when at the full of the moon he plants feather-sticks and is *teshkwi* from meat for four days, when he goes into the four-day summer retreat for rain, before announcing the summer solstice or into the eight- (or sixteen-[1]) day retreat before announcing, ten days in advance, the winter solstice. During these periods he fasts from meat. In the winter solstice periods the meat taboo is on the first four days of the sixteen days, off the second four, on the third four, off the fourth four; of the following ten days, the taboo is on the first four days, off the second four, and on the last two days.

The *kiakwemosi łashi* and the two *kiakwemosi tsanna* plant every new moon and are continent four days. They are the first of the *ashiwanni* to make the four-day summer retreat for rain. They go into retreat the day the pilgrims start to Ojo Caliente or *kołuwela*. (The first of the *kokokshi* dances is held on the return of the pilgrims on the fifth day.) The *akiakwemosi* observe continence during their retreat and for four days after they come out.

[1] See p. 298.

The *apilashiwanni mosi*, the *apilashiwanni an suwe*, and the other bow priests plant at the March and April new moons, observing continence for four days and fasting from *chikwa* (sweets, *i. e.*, sugar, dried pumpkin and sweet bread). *apilashiwanni mosi* and *apilashiwanni an suwe* go into a summer rain retreat for four days. They observe continence, but, unlike the others, they may "come out" during the day.

The bow priesthood was recruited by killers of Navajo. After his kill a man had to sleep apart from his wife for eight days, sleeping nude on a sheep pelt, the skin up. He had also to fast from meat and from salt. The other members of the war party also and the bow priests were likewise *teshkwi*, the bow priests twelve days and the others, four days.[1]

The other three *ashiwanni* of the six directions, *i. e.*, *temakoha* (east) *shiwanni*, *kalishi* (west) *shiwanni*, and *alaho* (south) *shiwanni* plant every new moon and observe continence for four days. They too go into a summer rain retreat of four days.[2] The same observances are followed by the other sets of *ashiwanni* who go into the summer retreat at various times. Two sets, the *hekiapa*[3] and the *palłokwe*,[4] also fast from meat. During the first four days of *itiwonna* all the *ashiwanni* and their households[5] fast from meat.

Fraternity members observe continence four days after their monthly planting, some fraternities planting at full moon and some at new moon.[6] Before an initiation, fraternity members plant and are continent four days. They also fast from meat. The same

[1] For the first four days all the war party were *teshkwi* for themselves, planting feather-sticks at the end of the period. During the second four days the killer w *teshkwi* for his victim, and the feather-sticks he planted at the end of the period were for the victim. The bow priests were *teshkwi* during the first four days for the victim, during the second four for themselves, during the third four for *ahayota*, the twin war god.

[2] Not together, but each with his own set of *ashiwanni*.

[3] Is this the group of which Lemi is the head, their ceremonial house being adjacent to *hekiapawa kiwitsine*? "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 169.

[4] The group Waihusiwa heads.

[5] All fasts fall upon the entire household, I incline to think.

[6] That any plant at new moon has been denied.

restrictions fall upon the initiate.[1] During the first four days of *itiwonna* fraternity members and their households also fast from meat. Exceptions to the rule of fasting from meat are presented by the *suskikwe* fraternity and the *łewekwe* fraternity. The *łewekwe* fast, however, from sweets. Initiates into the *kotikili* plant the day after initiation, *i. e.*, the day after the whipping, and then fast four days from meat. They are too young of course for the question of observing continence to arise. But their ceremonial fathers who plant with them do observe continence.

koyemshi personators must observe continence four days after each of the *shalako* plantings and during the fourteen days of their *shalako* observances. At any time when *koyemshi* personators are out "playing" they must observe continence. During such times of attendance on dancers the *koyemshi* personators may not leave whatever house they may ceremonially be "in." Their *wole* goes out to get provisions for them. When the *newekwe* are out "playing," they too must observe continence. Home they may go, however, but they must avoid personal contacts.[2]

The twelve *shalako* personators and the personators of *sayatasha* and of *bitsitsi* have to observe continence four days after each *shalako* planting. The personator of *pau·tiwa* (*molawia*) plants in connection with the *molawia* ceremonial and for four days after observes continence. The twelve personators of the *salymobia* go into retreat, observing continence four days before the ceremonial rabbit hunt. Before the initiation into the *kotikili* they go into a retreat of eight days. The *cha·kwena* of the ceremonial hunt observes continence four days during the ceremonial lying-in. This list of sacred personators observing continence could undoubtedly be considerably extended, and I surmise that in connection with many, if not all, impersonations feather-sticks are planted and for four days continence is observed, the restriction falling, if not upon the personator, upon some one connected with the impersonation or ceremonial. I heard, for example, of an instance where continence

[1] In some cases when therapeutic treatment is being given through a fraternity continence is required of the patient. (See p. 284.) It is probably a ceremonial requirement.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 161. 234,

was required of the *wole* of *tsiytsikya*. In general, personators of the *koko* in all ceremonials or dances are expected during the period covered by the dance to observe continence. Continence is not required during practice, and even during the dance period, if a personator washed himself quite free from the *koko* paint, he might have intercourse.

At the summer and winter solstice ceremonials all the men and women plant feather-sticks and remain continent for four days.

After a death, the day of the burial, members of the household of the deceased and also of his or her father's household plant and remain continent four days. During this time they also keep from combing each other's hair.[1] A widow or widower on remarrying, after her or his first sleep with the second spouse, plants and remains continent four days. Then she or he plants again to remain continent again four days. There is no ceremonial[2] observance of continence after childbirth.

Continence (and fasting) was established, I have been told, by the two war gods. The Sun father had nothing to do with these rules. In fact it was the war gods who made the rules (*haitoshna*) "for everything—for the *pekwĭn* and the other *ashiwanni* and for the fraternities." So much for the traditional explanation of the institution of ceremonial continence. That the practice is more or less consciously recognized by the Zuñi as a form of what we would call will magic I have little doubt.

[1] And from barter. A taboo on barter falls on all during the four days at winter and summer solstice ceremonials; upon the households of the *ashiwanni* the winter period is eight days. During the four-day summer retreats of the *ashiwanni* it also falls upon their households.

[2] There is a general idea of not having intercourse while the lochial discharge continues; but the idea is not always carried out.

Decay of Ceremonialism

Ceremonialism at Zuñi appears to be decaying in two ways—through a failure to fill sacerdotal offices and through foregoing ceremonials or parts of ceremonials because of opposition or criticism from Americans, *i. e.*, because of foreign influence. Failure to fill offices may be due of course to foreign influence too—to influence of a more indirect or covert type. As Americanized secular activities become more attractive, persons are less willing to fill offices which interfere or tend to interfere with these activities. A woman told me, for example, that she had declined to become a *shiwanni* in spite of her training for that position[1] because when her husband went to work at Black Rock she wanted to go with him. Dick, the somewhat Americanized "lieutenant governor" (*sipaloa shiwanni*) was in former days a *towakwe shiwanni* and a member of the *łewekwe* fraternity. He has dropped both his membership and his office. Already in 1896 Stevenson records the lapse of functions in connection with the *ettowe* of two sets of *ashiwanni*.[2] At that time the position of *shiwanokya*, the woman attached[3] to the *akiakwemosi*, was filled, but for several years now it has been vacant. The last incumbent died about ten years ago. It is said that no woman is willing to undergo the restrictions or run the risks of office. Failure to observe the continence taboos, the same taboos as fall upon the *ashiwanni* of all the directions, would mean death.

[1] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 167 n.d. The woman Mrs. Stevenson and I both refer to is Nina, the granddaughter of Naiuchi, bow priest director, and daughter of Halian a *shiwanni*.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," pp. 165, 168 n.a.

[3] I have heard the *shiwanokya* called the "representative" of the *chu* (*chuwe*, seeds) *ettone*, but her position appears to me to have been economic rather than sacerdotal. She looked after the ceremonial house of the *akiakwemosi*. She swept the floor, she brought in the water, and she looked after the root of the cottonwood tree kept lighted in this house. In it matches are not used.

Since writing the above I find that Dr. Kroeber also holds this point of view about the subordinate functions of the *shiwanokya*, charging Mrs. Stevenson with a feminist trend in her account. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 181. I suppose Dr. Kroeber meant to write sex trend.

Among the other sets of *ashiwanni* there are today but six women.[1] Stevenson mentions fourteen sets of *ashiwanni* including the *akiakwemosi*. In 1896 in all but one the fourth member of the set of four was a woman.[2] In recent years as the women's positions became vacant by death they were, I am told, simply not filled. Whereas there were fifteen *apilashiwanni* in 1896 there are today but five, one of them very old. To become eligible to this bow priesthood it was necessary to take a scalp. After American administration precluded or nearly precluded this condition of qualification, some attempt seems to have been made to keep up the priesthood in another way;[3] but the adaptation was not securely established. Part of the initiation into the bow priesthood was the so-called scalp dance, *otiwa łanna* (dance big) a complex ceremonial lasting eight days. It has not been held for five or six years. The other ceremonial peculiar to the bow priesthood, the *owinahâiye*, an annual dance at harvest time, has not been held for eight or ten years. On the last celebration two men were accidentally shot and for that reason, it is said, the *owinahâiye* has been given up. Even before that "the Americans" had objected to the dance with its show of firearms.

The *łahewe* ceremonial[4] is another ceremonial that has completely lapsed. It has not been performed for ten or eleven years. The persons who knew about it, they say, have died. There may be a special reference here to the deceased *shiwanokya*.[5] During the *shalako* ceremonial it is customary for each *kiwitsine* to present a dance. There is a tendency to let this observance lapse. *mahedinasha*, for example, the dance associated with *hekiapawa kiwitsine*, has not been presented at *shalako* for four or five years. At the *shalako* of 1916 *hemishikwe* was not danced.

Suppression of witchcraft is a function of the bow priests, but their power has been curtailed of course by the American

[1] "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 176.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," pp. 167–7.

[3] "Zuñi Indians," p. 579.

[4] See "Zuñi Indians," pp. 180–204; *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. I, 46–55.

[5] A large number of women figured in the *łahewe*. Comparatively more women have withdrawn from Zuñi ceremonialism, I think, than men.

objection to witchcraft prosecution. Nagging may be as effectual as hanging to extort confession but it is not as fearful, I suppose, even among the Zuñi, susceptible as they are to social pressure. The presence of Americans who are immune from attacks by witches must contribute to undermine little by little belief in black magic and dependence upon the bow priests. The influence of the American physician resident in Zuñi should be noted in this connection. At the last measles epidemic, six or seven years ago, he was not allowed to treat cases in the town, and the witch of the epidemic was sought and found. There was a high mortality and Dr. Davis pointed out that at the school at Black Rock where he had the patients in charge the mortality was much lower. True, said the Zuñi, there are too many Americans at Black Rock for the witch to pay attention to that place.

The presence of the American physician tends or will tend to undermine not only the bow priests but a little more directly the medicinemen of the fraternities and in consequence the recruiting of the fraternities. Whatever the cause, membership in several fraternities has in fact fallen off in recent years. The *newekwe*, I take it, are markedly falling off,[1] nor are they the only diminishing fraternity. The *koshikwe*, the *showekwe* and the *łewekwe* seem to be falling off. The last initiation into the *łewekwe* occurred four years ago. The snow-bringing ceremonial of this fraternity shows a tendency, too, to be curtailed. The *muwaiye* was performed in 1916 but it had not been included for four years previous. Because of American disapproval, the stick swallowing performances are fewer.

Analogous to the influence of the presence of the American physician is the influence due to the existence of the American system of irrigation. The great dam at Black Rock and the irrigation ditches suggest silently but potently that the fall of rain and snow, the supreme object of all ceremonials,[2] is not absolutely

[1] No women are nowadays regular attendants, and the *nemosi*, initiated twelve years or more ago into the fraternity, was the last initiate.

[2] The more one sees of Zuñi ceremonialism, the more one realizes the exclusive and obsessing nature of this object.

essential to fertility.[1] Hitherto men would rather dance[2] than work on the ditch,[3] but once a system of payment for work on the ditch is introduced, the preference will change.

Because of the weakness in the *newekwe* and *showekwe* the *koyemshi* are no longer supplied by the first fraternity at all and only irregularly by the second. In the annual impersonation of sacred personages in general it is becoming more and more difficult to secure personators. The quota of four corn maiden personators to each *kiwitsine* is not filled. One year there was only one personator to perform the ceremonial, a shortage which necessarily affected its performance. This year (1917) only four *shalako* personators were secured before the first *shalako* planting on January 20 when it was most important for all twelve *shalako* personators to plant. In 1916 none volunteered to entertain the *koyemshi* until a few weeks before *shalako* and in 1915 none volunteered to entertain the *hekiapawa shalako* at all. Entertaining the *shalako*, the *koyemshi* and the other *shalako koko* is a form of ceremonial, communal labor which is inevitably passing. The personators and their households work for the household which entertains, *i. e.*, feeds them. One hears considerable criticism of the cost of feeding so many persons. Besides, as houses are built in the American style more expert builders are required. Mrs. Lewis is building a stone house and instead of depending upon the *kiwitsine* of her husband she has employed the most skilful carpenter of Zuñi, paying him money by the day.[4] Her example, no doubt, will be followed.

[1] To be sure, native systems of irrigation failed to give this point of view to Pueblo peoples.

[2] Dancing may be hard physical work, like ways elsewhere of compelling supernaturals to do one's will, but social satisfactions attach to the performance of a ceremonial, satisfactions which work on the ditch lacks.

[3] See p. 273.

[4] Her old adobe house with its wooden beams was built by her mother-in-law and the kinswomen and kinsmen of her mother-in-law. (Had she been a native it would have been built by her own kinspeople.) And under the floor of the room I happened to occupy turquoise had been ceremonially buried. With the introduction of stone and tin as building materials that auspicious rite will be neglected, women will cease to be masons, and communal labor whether of clan or *kiwitsine* will cease to be employed. Another illustration of "New goods, new customs." "A Few Zuñi Death Beliefs and Practices," p. 253.

The number of Zuñi who work for wages—for Whites, I have yet to hear of work on such a basis for other Zuñi—is limited (there are five or six wage-earners all told perhaps), but the number is bound to grow. In the case of one of these wage-earners at least, conflicts between communal, ceremonial work and American wage earning must, I suspect, have presented itself. Nancy was taken into the *kotikili* to do *kiwitsine* work, I have been told—the ceremonial occasion of the initiation I have yet to learn. Now Nancy is an unusually competent and intelligent worker and in much demand by American employers. The time may come when Nancy will choose a day's pay rather than dance in a *kokokshi*.

The school interferes indirectly with the ceremonial life. Initiations into the fraternity are held in winter and in the case of younger persons school attendance precludes initiation. The personator of *shulawitsi* should be a boy, a boy of school age, and it has been difficult at times to take the proper boy out of school for the ceremony. The night before the *shalako* come in people are anxious to have their children, particularly their daughters, at home. (New moccasins must be fitted, I have been told.) On the eve of the *shalako* of 1915 the girls were needed at the Black Rock boarding school to clean up, and it took considerable pressure on the federal agent to get them home. Hitherto the school children have been given the *shalako* period for a holiday instead of the American Christmas holiday; but I would not be surprised if at any time there were some arbitrary decision against this recognition of Zuñi custom by American officials.

House building is ceasing to be more or less exclusively associated with *shalako* ceremonialism. The question of house sites is another disturbing factor in Zuñi ceremonialism. Although belonging to a sacerdotal household, when the skilled carpenter I have referred to came to build his wife a house the site chosen was on the road to *kushilowa*, a sacrosanct spot. There has been talk by Whites from time to time of building at *hepatina*, another even more sacred place. One of the American stores has been built at *halona*, the site of old Zuñi. The very scattering of the house sites has impinged on ceremonial performance. There was a rule that during the *haliliku*

the *koyemshi* should cover the town, going from roof to roof without touching the ground. That rule is of course abrogated. With so many outlying houses in ceremonies of domiciliary visitation certain houses must be passed by or the ceremony must cover two days instead of one.

The use of the American built bridge is still avoided in ceremonies, but the day may come when it will be used. Certain ceremonial features will then be changed, just as the use of burro or wagon has changed little ceremonial rules in connection with bringing in wood. The use of commercial articles is already very general in ceremonials. For example, sacred meal will be carried by the dance leader in a glass bowl or cup instead of in the ceremonial pottery bowl. In the make-up of the masks, store-bought ribbons and artificial flowers are being used. If this use increase, the same tawdriness in ceremonial make-up and complete lack of style characteristic of other pueblos may be expected in Zuñi ceremonials. Goods from the store may affect the ceremonials in still other ways. I have referred to the increase of the practice of largess at the dances. It is obviously a secular practice which leads away from a devout to a more secular point of view. Largess becomes each year more lavish, so do the clan gifts to the *koyemshi* at the conclusion of *shalako*. The mounting cost of these gifts may serve like the cost of entertaining *shalako* personages as an argument against maintaining intact this feature of *shalako*.

Original *koyemshi* practices may be undermined not only by American commerce but by American psychology. To the American some of the naïve ceremonial ways of the *koyemshi* appear obscene. Thanks to American sophistication these particular ways have been modified during recent years, and I have no doubt they will be still further modified.[1] The filth eating practices of the *newekwe* have changed for the same reason.

[1] One day I asked a little girl, a Zuñi mixed blood, what she had thought of the day's dance. I had seen her sitting in the plaza with the daughter of the American doctor. To my American style of question she gave me an American answer. "Very well, except I didn't like some of the things the *koyemshi* did." At other times, free from American sophistication, the girl was quite enough of a Zuñi to warn her mother not to say anything against the *koyemshi* lest something might happen.

Aside from such changes in general in ceremonials, numerous changes in detail are noticeable. To a few of these changes I have drawn attention,[1] but many more, I have no doubt, could be listed. The changes seem to be in the direction of making the cult less exacting. This feature is in itself significant of decadence; but the very tendency to change is still more significant. A large measure of meticulous conservatism is essential to the life of cere monialism.

[1] See pp. 166, 174, 193, 195, 205 n. 1, 208 n. 3, 235, 245.

Kinship in Communal Ceremonialism

The Zuñi express many non-kinship relations in terms of kinship. Covenanted friends[1] become older and younger brother or sister to each other, and their families or rather households are addressed by correspondent kinship terms. Members of the same household use kinship terms more or less irrespective of the fact of kinship. For example, an older sister, *an kyauu*, may be called *an kyauu* by one who is neither a blood relative nor a clansman, let us say by the husband of her mother's sister's daughter or by some friend of her father, a Laguna, perhaps, or an Acoma who happens to be visiting the household. In the first case her cousin's husband would call her *an kyauu* whether he lived in the house or not, for *an kyauu* is what his wife calls her; in the second case the visitor calls her what he hears the other members of the household calling her. As for the visitor himself, a kinship term may be applied to him also. "Where is your mother (*tsita*)?" I have known my Zuñi hostess to be asked about me.[2] In this case perhaps the term mother is an age-class term. Any older woman may be called mother, any older man, father (*tachu*). From being age-class terms these terms become terms of respect, honorific terms. The *tapup* (governor) and his wife, whatever their age, are called *tachu* and *tsita* by the people. Similarly from respect, I infer, as well as from household imitation, the heads of the households which entertain the *koyemshi*, the *shalako* and the *sayatasha* party are also called *awan tachu* and *awan tsita* in connection with the respective personators. The *ashiwanni* of all the directions are called *tachu*.

The whole ceremonial life is pervaded by the kinship conception. Attaching to almost every ceremonial is the little rite of "exchanging terms of relationship." The man who acts as sponsor or introducer

[1] Parsons, E. C., "Ceremonial Friendship at Zuñi," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 19 (1917), pp. 1–8.

[2] Guest of this same lady, Dr. Kroeber was called her mother's brother. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 64.

of a boy at his initiation into the *kotikili* is called his "father." [1] Hence every member of a *kiwitsine* is the "child" of another member and the "father," perhaps of one, perhaps of several members. The fraternities as a whole may be referred to as *tikyapapakwe*, dance elder brother people. The six *kiwitsiwe* are themselves thought of in terms of kinship. *heiwa* is *an papa*, the elder brother to *hekiapawa*, and *hekiapawa* reciprocally *an suwe*, the younger brother, to *heiwa*. *chupawa* is elder brother to *muhewa*, and *ohewa* to *uptsanna*. In the winter and summer *kokokshi* dances members of the *kiwitsine* related to the *kiwitsine* giving the *kokokshi* personate the female figures. *heiwa kiwitsine* is *an papa* not only to *hekiapawa*, but to all the other *kiwitsiwe*. In other words, the kinship term expresses the ceremonial precedence frequently given *heiwa*.[2]

The twelve *salymobia* are themselves grouped as older and younger brothers, a couple from each *kiwitsine*. So are the twelve *shalako*, each *kiwitsine* having *shalako an papa* and *shalako an suwe*. The paternal relationship is prominent in other sacred impersonations. *shulatwitsi* has a ceremonial father, *shulawitsi an tachu;* so has *bitsitsi*. *koyemshi awan tachu* is the head of the *koyemshi*. One of the *koyemshi* is called *awan suwe tsanna* (their little younger brother). *kuyapalitsa* who is *koyemshi awan tachu an ikina* (younger sister) is also called *awan tsita*, their mother or *awan kyauu*, their elder sister.[3] *cha·kwena okya* (woman) is *awan tsilu*, their mother's

[1] See p. 162.

[2] For example in the initiation into *kotikili* the *heiwa salymobia* take precedence over the other *salymobia*. Again *heiwa* (and *hekiapawa*) have the right to recall for misconduct the personator not only of *sayatasha* but the personators of the *salymobia* and the *shalako* of the other *kiwitsiwe*. The *heiwa shalako* personator may postpone *shalako* for ten days. *tsupala ilona* must belong to *heiwa kiwitsine*. In this *kiwitsine* several if not most of the most important indoor ceremonials take place.

[3] She is also referred to as *komokyatsi* (*ko* > *koko*, *o* > *okya*, *kyatsi* > *kyatsiki*, god female girl). *oykatsiki* is a term a man uses for his wife. On the fact that the *koyemshi* are referred to as *ałashiwe* (the old ones), Cushing builds in part his theory that the historic origin of the *koyemshi* is associated with fetich stones. "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 366–7. But we must note that the *koyemshi* (god husbands) may well be called *ałashiwe* since *hom łashiki* (my old one) is the term a woman commonly applies to her husband. For another disproof for Cushing's theory see p. 235 for the significance of the knobs of the *koyemshi* masks.

Kroeber gives *kyattsekyi* for girl, *kyattsikyi* for old woman. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," pp. 54, 69.

sister, to the set of dancers called *toicha·kwena*.[1] *ho'wiwi* among the *mahedinasha* is referred to as *awan nana*,[2] their grandfather, and I surmise that several of the other "stars" among the various dancers go by kinship terms.[3]

The dead are referred to in prayer and in song as "fathers" and "mothers." When a rain cloud is seen an elder may say to a child, *tom* (your) *wołashi* (*wo* > *wowa*, father's mother, *łashi*, old) *ia* (is coming), or it may be said in general of rain clouds, *nanakwe* (grandfathers) or *hotakwe* (mother's mothers) *awia* (come).

The sun is always referred to as "father."[4] The moon is thought of as the sister of the sun and she is at times referred to as "mother."[5] When the women plant feather-sticks for the moon at the winter solstice they refer to her as the mother (*an tsita*), but at other times the moon is not referred to thus. Either it is, as one informant stated, that the Zuñi "don't pay much attention to the moon,"[6] or they are peculiarly reticent about her.[7]

The war gods are referred to as older brother and younger, and the two bow priests who, according to Stevenson, represent the war gods were called *apiłashiwanni an papa* and *apiłashiwanni an suwe*. Today the senior seems to be generally called *apiłashiwanni mosi* (director) or even more commonly just *apiłashiwanni*.

We have been considering what we might call attributive or fictitious kinship in ceremonial. To what extent does kinship

[1] The dance director of the *toicha'kwena* will take a package of meal to the personator of *cha'kwena okya* and invite him to join the dance (except the *toicha'kwena* of *shalako*). Among the Hopi *cha'kwena* one is known as the mother, another as the grandmother, another as the uncle. Fewkes, J. W., *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XIV (1901), 84.

[2] As the *koyemshi* call *kiaklo*, "Zuñi Indians," pp. 68 ff., in this case meaning according to Stevenson and one of my informants, "grandson."

[3] *Cf.* the Hopi custom. Dr. Fewkes explains this katcina nomenclature as due to the fact that katcina cults are intrinsically clan ceremonials. In view of the adoption of the kinship concept and term as a general social frame at Zuñi, there, at any rate, another hypothesis is tenable.

[4] See pp. 274, 275.

[5] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 109.

[6] Their moon symbolism belies this assertion, likewise the fact of feather-stick planting in her honor.

[7] As for the earth, however it may be thought of in esoteric circles, in popular thought it is not personified. I have been told repeatedly, "The earth is not a being."

actually enter ceremonialism, *i. e.*, what sacerdotal or ceremonial positions are filled according to clan or family relation? The office of *pekwĭn* is filled from the main division of the *pichikwe* (dogwood) clan.[1] According to Stevenson the *kiakwemosi* should be *pichikwe* or child of *pichikwe*. The present incumbent is the uncle (mother's brother) of his predecessor.[2] Tsawele, *apilashiwanni*, is *suskikwe*.[3] My informants state that neither the *apilashiwanni* nor, excepting the *pekwĭn*, any of the other *ashiwanni* of all the directions need be chosen according to clan.[4] Certainly no emphasis is put today upon their clan affiliations. Well informed as is Mrs. Lewis, she does not know to what clans the *akiakwemosi* belong or, outside of the *pekwĭn*, the clan membership of any of the *ashiwanni* of all the directions. Evidence in regard to the clan affiliations of the other *ashiwanni* is also confusing. The position seems to be kept among blood kindred rather than necessarily within the clan.[5] It may be that the guardianship of the *ettone* is a strictly clan function, *i. e.*, the house where it is kept determining its clan proprietorship.

[1] From the *yatopichikwe* or sun division. Other divisions have been referred to as *łapichikwe* (*ła* > *ława*, stick, bush), *kokopichikwe* (here *koko*, sometimes *kăkă*, is raven, not god), *mulapichikwe* (*mula*, macaw). But see "Zuñi Kin and Clan," pp. 100–1. According to Stevenson the *pekwĭn* is eligible from the clan at large. "Zuñi Indians," p. 166.

That the *pichikwe* is subdivided there is no doubt; but as to what its subdivisions are there seems to be among the Zuñi themselves a degree of uncertainty.

The punning legend goes that the *kokopichikwe* were once *koko* (gods). They hid the deer away from the other *koko*. The others then made a ball of the rubbings from their skin and put the ball on the fire over night. In the morning the ball went off with a blast, turning the deer hiders into ravens (*koko*).

Cushing refers to the Parrot Clan, meaning, I presume, the *mula pichikwe*, as the supreme sacerdotal clan. *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. XXI (1882), p. 187. Important offices are filled by the *pichikwe*, but to the Zuñi, at least today, this clan does not appear to have supremacy. It certainly has no such supremacy as, for example, the Antelope Clan at Acoma.

[2] And he and his associates are *pichikwe*. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 169.

[3] "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 170.

[4] "Zuñi Indians," p. 166.

[5] This general observation is confirmed by Dr. Kroeber's careful study. He concludes however that the Zuñi do connect each priesthood with a clan; but that this connection often exists in theory rather than in the actual personnel of the priesthoods. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 166.

The director of the *newekwe* fraternity, the *nemosi* must be, as we have noted, a *koloktakwe* (sandhill crane). According to Stevenson, the director of the *saniakiakwe* fraternity must be a *towakwe* (corn), the director of the *łewekwe* fraternity, a *koloktakwe*, and his *pekwĭn*, a *towakwe*.[1] Again according to Stevenson the *komosona* and his *kopiłashiwanni* were appointed from the *shohitakwe* (deer); the *kopekwĭn* and his *kopiłashiwanni* from the *tonashikwe* (badger clan).[2] The *shohitakwe* were almost extinct and so the *kopiłashiwanni* of the *komosona* was in Stevenson's day a *aiṇshikwe* (bear). The present *komosona* is a *shohitakwe* and the present *kopekwĭn* is a *tonashikwe*. Impersonation of sacred personages is an annual office or an office filled merely as the occasion arises.[3] Of such of these offices as belong to clans a list follows, a list which is, I am well aware, by no means complete. The personator of *pau·tiwa molawia* is *annakwe* (tobacco) but he is chosen by the heads of the *a͡iyahokwe* (tansy mustard or spring herb).[4] The personator of *pau·tiwa* (*itiwonna*) is a *łapichikwe*[5] chosen by the heads of the clan. The girls who run in the *molawia* are chosen by *a͡iyahokwe* clansmen. They may choose clanswomen or girls in their households. The maker of the altar picture and player of notched stick in the *łewekwe* ceremonial is an *aiṇshikwe* (bear)

[1] "Zuñi Indians," p. 40.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," p. 62.

[3] There is a tendency however for the same person to more or less monopolize a given impersonation. For example, in 1917 and 1916 the same man impersonated *shitsukia*. See below for the personators of *pau'tiwa* (*itiwonna*) and *cha'kwena okya*. Wewha, the celebrated *łamana*, used to impersonate the *kołamana*, a part Nancy now impersonates.

[4] See "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 387. Cushing described a definite philosophic correlation between clans and ceremonial offices. Anything as systematic I have failed to observe, and today in exoteric circles, at any rate, I believe no such comprehensive interpretation exists.

[5] The impersonation is currently undertaken by two brothers who are *pichikwe*. Their father handed the position down to them. He was a *tonakwe* (turkey) and only *pichikwe an chale*. (As his wife must have been *pichikwe*, here is presumedly an instance, by the way, of marriage into the father's clan, see p. 257.)

There is, I believe, a tendency to let the father's clan count in qualifying for an impersonation belonging to a clan. See too "Zuñi Indians," pp. 40, 127.

pau'tiwa carries a *łatsiłon* (baton?) made of dogwood and crow feather. As *pau'tiwa itiwonna* is considered the head of the *koko*, his clan affiliation has particular significance.

member of the fraternity[1]. *cha·kwena okya* is personated by a *tonashikwe* (badger).[2] *tsupala ilona*, he who selects *shulawitsi*, is a *tonashikwe*. He selects a *tonashikwe* relative or he may select his own son, a *tonashikwe an chale*.[3]

In conclusion we may note the functions performed by kindred in connection with the sacred personators. Each *koyemshi* personator is called, as we have noted, *koyemshi an chale*, the child of the father's clan. His father's people (*an takwikwe*) must help him work for his *shalako* house and all his father's clan must make contributions to him at *shalako* and cut feather-sticks for him.[4] The personator of *shulawitsi* is, as noted, a *tonashikwe* (or *tonashikwe an chale*). For *shulawitsi* the *tonashikwe* must cut feather-sticks. Sacred personators have their heads washed ceremonially at the close of their impersonation. In many cases it is the father's nearest clanswoman, the personator's *kuku par excellence*[5] who washes the head.[6] It is the *kuku* of *tsupalailona* who has to supply him with the ceremonial blood pudding.

[1] After giving this affiliation between clan and fraternity my informant added: "We don't bring our clans much into the fraternities." But on the function of the *ainshikwe* in the *lewekwe* ceremonial, see "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 387.

[2] Actually the two brothers who are wont to personate are *pichikwe* and only *tonashikwe an chale*. Their father passed the office down to them. He had received it from his brother. One of the current personators has no son, the other, one son, a little fellow, an *ainshikwe*. The office may be passed on to him when he is grown, but should both the father and father's brother die now, the *komosona* would designate a *tonashikwe* to fill the office.

[3] See "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 387. According to Dr. Kroeber fire-making with the drill (see p. 189), always more or less ritualistic, is a function of the *tonashikwe*. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 95, n. 4.

[4] Clanspeople appear to have a peculiarly strong feeling about their *koyemshi*. Whether this is just part of the general reverence for the *koyemshi* or whether the feeling is to be explained on particularistic grounds, I do not know.

[5] All the father's clanswomen are called *kuku*, but it is upon the nearest by blood that ceremonial duties fall when the performance of such duties is by its nature limited to one person.

[6] See p. 201 for *shalako* personators. *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 132.

Shortly before a birth the woman's mother-in-law is sent for to take charge of the confinement. She is not, however, the midwife, nor is she the first to touch the child ceremonially at delivery. Although the husband or the husband-to-be of the woman or girl who performs that ceremonial act becomes the initiator of the child, if it is a boy, into the *kotikili*, the person who touches appears not to be selected in any set way. "When you think your child is to be born," some one will say to a pregnant woman, "send for me so I can touch it." Or perhaps no arrangement at all is made in advance. A woman who happens to be in the house at the time of the birth will touch the child.[1] Nor has the *wowa*, unlike the Hopi paternal grandmother or other paternal relative,[2] the naming of the child. Anyone may suggest the name.

At the initiation, the father's sister (*kuku*) tells her clanspeople to grind corn for the ceremonial father in exchange, I take it, for the gifts he makes at this time to the boy he initiates—blankets, cloth, necklaces, etc., and always the bowl in which his wife or mother has washed the initiate's head. At an initiation into a fraternity it is again the *kuku* and her clanspeople who grind, grinding for the whole fraternity.

Neither in connection with the initiation nor with any other circumstance in the bringing up of children have I found any special authority attaching to the *kyakya*, the mother's brother. The fact, however, that "only one *kyakya* is supposed to be in a family"[3] may suggest that special functions attached to him.[4]

[1] This indifference indicates to me that the touching custom is in disintegration. The woman touching is subsequently called *tsita*.

[2] Owens, J. G., "Natal Ceremonies of the Hopi Indians," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II (1892), pp. 168–175.

[3] I quote M. A. L., and she meant family in the restricted American sense. *kyakya* is used for senior maternal kinsmen and for clansmen. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 63.

[4] See p. 271 for an instance where a *kyakya* did indeed seem to exert special authority.

Marriage choices at Zuñi seem particularly independent of family pressure and of the kind of economic considerations which require family cooperation. The bridegroom may make a present to his bride, perhaps a bracelet, perhaps a necklace, but none is expected to contribute to this gift. If the gift is an *eha* (blanket) or buckskin for leggings, the woman would take a basket of meal to her mother-in-law's[1] (*ulawa*).[2] On returning, her basket would be filled with beans or corn. (There is a feeling in general that a basket containing a gift must not go back empty.) Instead of taking meal to her mother-in-law the wife (*an oye*) might go and ask for corn to grind there[3] or to take home to grind. Were she at her mother-in-law's late in the day she might be given a bowl of stew and some bread to take home with her.[4] These more or less ceremonious visits to a mother-in-law may be kept up for a year or so or until a child is born. As for the service of a man to his wife's family or household, it is much less sporadic. He lives with them, sleeping and eating under their roof, and in return, like any other member of the household, he works regularly for the household.

Marriage and, I believe, casual intercourse, are strictly exogamous. There is no question to the Zuñi that to marry your clansman

[1] *Cf.* "Traditions of the Hopi," pp. 66, 75, 94.

[2] This term is not used in address. Nor are the distinctive terms *ulani* (f.) or *talake* (m.) for daughter-in-law or sister-in-law, son-in-law or brother-in-law. The relative by marriage is usually addressed by the term corresponding to that by which his or her spouse is addressed. A woman will call her brother's wife, for example, *kyauu* (older sister) or *hani* (younger sister or brother) according to what she calls her brother, *papa* (older brother) or *hani*. In one case I know a woman is called *tsilu* (mother's younger sister) because her husband is called *kyakya* (mother's brother); in another case a man is called *nana* although his wife is called *kuku* (father's sister). Parents will call their daughter and son-in-law, *kyatsiki* (girl), *aktsiki* (boy), until they, the parents, become grandparents, then the younger couple are called *an tachu* and *an tsita*. This kind of teknonymy suggests an intimate connection between the kinship function and the term of address.

[3] Among the Hopi the *fiancée* has to grind corn three days in the house of her mother-in-law. The wedding blanket she receives is a product of cooperative work by her bridegroom, his father, his male relatives and his friends. It is plain that among the Hopi marrying is alike a more public and a more family affair than it is, today at least, among the Zuñi.

[4] See p. 306, n. 4, for a slightly different account. Accounts and, I infer, practice in regard to marriage presents and visits differ. Custom, I think, has been changing. *Cf.* Cushing in *Century* IV (N. S.) p. 55.

or clanswoman is just the same as marrying your brother or sister. Of such clan incest there is no case on record.[1] Marriage into your father's clan is condemned, but it is not at all unentertainable as is marriage into your own clan. There have been many cases of it. In fact two of my informants, a middle-aged woman and an elderly man, had made such marriages. I was left to learn of these misalliances, however, from others and outside of the family.

Marriage between those who are assimilated as kindred is also inhibited by kinship feeling. Thus marriage between *achi'kihe'pa* (dual form of *kihe*), ceremonial friends or adoptive brethren, or between a *kihe* and one of his fellow's *geschwister* is out of the question. So is marriage between a brother-in-law and a sister-in-law. In custom I have failed to find any sign of the levirate[2] and such mating appears to be unknown. In referring to it, the same so to speak emotional incredulity is shown as in referring to mating within the clan. I have also failed to find any marriage preferences between the clans.[3] "It is the woman who counts," I was told rather disdainfully, "not the clan."[4]

I pass on to kinship functions in connection with death. The *wowa* and the *kuku* or in their default any clanswoman of the father of the deceased wash his or her corpse, and provide for it a blanket or a shawl. At the close of the four-day mourning or death quarantine period it is they too who wash the mourners. It is the brothers or male kinsmen of the father (*an atachu* or *an apapa*) of the deceased who carry the corpse to the cemetery and bury it.[5]

[1] Since writing the above I find that a single case came to the notice of Dr. Kroeber. "Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 92. The bridegroom was adoptive son of Jesus (see p. 171). I found an analogous case, due to Mexican influence, at Acoma.

[2] In kinship terminology we should note, however, that *inihau* means both stepmother and wife of father's brother.

[3] But this subject should be more carefully examined by the genealogical method.

[4] In view of clan exogamy, we have here an interesting illustration of thought arrested by the force of custom.

[5] There seems to be no direct endeavor to relieve members of the household from funerary duties. When the father's people are not available because of illegitimacy or of marriage with a foreigner, the mother's people, including housemates, will officiate. For example, recently at the death of a woman I knew whose father had been a Navajo, it was two housemates, the two brothers of her mother, who together with the son of her mother's sister (*an papa* and *an ikina* were the terms these cousins used to each other) dug the grave and carried the corpse to the cemetery. Incidentally, let

Women mourners do not go to the burial, the sole exception being in the case of a deceased infant when its *wowa* will carry it to the cemetery. Parents would not touch the corpse of their child. In the case of a widower his *kuku* come to the house before the corpse is taken out. As soon as it is borne out they take the widower to his people and wash his head. He does not return to the household of his deceased wife. "Death takes two, not one," say the Zuñi.

It appears that during the crises of individual life as well as on public occasions it is the father's people or clan which is charged with performing the requisite rites.[1]

me note, the half brother of this woman always called her *an kyauu* (older sister). For Zuñi terms for half-brother or sister on the maternal side, see p. 321, n. 10.

[1] Economic functions, on the other hand, fall to the mother's people or clan. They cooperate in herding or in farming. It is they who help the household in the sheep dip or in hoeing or planting or harvesting or thrashing. They are fed by the household the days they work for it. It is the nearer blood relatives who thus cooperate; but just where people draw the line between blood kin (*ianikine*) and clan kin (*anote*) I have yet to learn. Blood at any rate is traced far. Your mother's mother's sister's daughter, for example, may be accounted "in the same family," you calling her *an tsita* or *an tsilu* (mother's younger sister). Since these terms, including *kyakya*, mother's brother and its reciprocal, *kyasĕ*, sister's son or daughter, are together with the *geschwister* terms the regular clan terms of address, terminology does not help you find the aforesaid blood boundary line. Practically there is, I believe, a boundary line, a line varying, it is likely, in various family circles, but practically and probably theoretically it is only in the matter of marriage that there is no trace of a line between blood and clan kinship. Since writing the foregoing Dr. Kroeber's admirable study of Zuñi kinship has become available. At the risk of being classified among the theorists Dr. Kroeber derides I suggest that his case against "the social functioning of the clan" were still stronger did he show that no interchange of services, either economic or ceremonial, existed outside of households related by blood. That such interchange is customary primarily among blood kindred is undeniable, but would Dr. Kroeber say that, blood kindred lacking, service, ceremonial at least if not economic, would not be rendered from the point of view of clanship? Imagine a Zuñi as we would say "without a relative in the world" (of course almost an impossible circumstance), would he not be prepared for burial and buried by his father's clanspeople rather than by his wife's household?

Age-class Terms

The looseness of application characteristic of Zuñi kinship terms is in some part due, I think to the prevailing wish to express ideas and feelings about age,[1] more particularly about the comparative ages of persons referred to or addressed, and to the lack of an adequate age-class terminology. In other words kinship terminology is made to do the work of an age-class terminology.

Irrespective of kinship, persons of an elder generation are addressed as *tachu* (father) or *nana* (grandfather) and as *tsita* (mother), and these terms may be applied as age-class terms rather than kinship terms when used as terms of respect,[2] to the *tapup*,[3] for example, or perhaps to him who initiates you into the *kotikili*. Within the family group *tachu* and *tsita* are used quite plainly as age-class terms. On the birth of a grandchild the young couple who have been called *aktsiki* (boy) and *kyatsiki* (girl)[4] are called *an tachu* and *an tsita*. They are so called not only by their parents and parents-in-law, whom they now call *an nana* (father's and mother's father) and *an hota* (mother's mother) and *an wowa* (father's mother) but by other kindred as well. In this usage, as we have noted, we are bordering on a kind of teknonymy.[5]

[1] Dr. Kroeber refers to the age factor as that "which the Zuñi by his terminology shows to be uppermost in his mental processes." Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 59.

Had I read the aforesaid monograph before the following notes on age-class terms had gone to press I had felt inclined to omit the discussion as bearing on topics so much more thoroughly covered in the monograph. As it is I include the discussion for what corroboratory value it may have.

[2] *Cf.* "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 372.

[3] *Cf.* "Tewa Kinship Terms," p. 278.

[4] Bandlier points out that the Keresan terms *motätza* and *makatza* for boy and girl are from the Spanish *muchacho* and *muchacha*. "Final Report," pt. I, p. 262. Are the Zuñi terms likewise?

[5] Actual teknonymy exists in Zuñi. A man or woman will be referred to as the father or mother of so-and-so. People would refer to the *tapup*, for example, as Billi (his six year old son) *an tachu*. To such an extent do kinship terms pivot around the child that the adults are apt to call one another by the same terms the children use. Let us say that a man's sister and her husband come to stay at his wife's house. The children call her *an kuku* (father's sister) and so do all in the household including

The same nearness is apparent in the expressions *e tsanna* (a term for the female infant before she is named, *e* > *elle*, girl, *tsanna*, little) *an tsitsa* and *mosho an tsita* (*mosho*, unnamed male infant), *i. e.*, the mother of a girl or boy baby. A woman will commonly call her husband *an tachu*. In the tales a man sometimes refers to or addresses his wife, his newly wed wife at that, as *hom* (my) *tsita*.[1] Outsiders will refer to a man's wife as mother, *e. g.*, Halu *tsita* they will call the wife of Halu.[2]

There are distinctive kinship terms for older and younger brother and sister.

papa	brother, elder (m. and w. sp.)
suwe	brother, younger (m. sp.)
kyauu	sister, elder (m. and w. sp.)
ikina	sister, younger (m. sp.)
hani	brother or sister, younger (m. and w. sp.)

These terms, like those for parents, are applied not only within the family circle, but outside, to express age distinctions. Any childless woman may be called *ikina* by an elder man. Any younger person

her own husband. One little girl I know has two great uncles, the brothers of her father's mother. The senior she called *tachu łashi* (*łashi*, old), the junior, *an topa tachu* (*topa*, other) a term of her own invention. Her elders sometimes call the latter by this term too. The personal name of the former is Hashi. His nephew and his nephew's wife sometimes called him *kya* (*kyakya*, mother's brother) Hashi. The children "got mixed up" and changed it to *ha kyashi*. So their elders came to call him *ha kyashi*.

[1] See p. 315. In real life according to Kroeber, before the birth of a child a man will call his wife *awan kyauu* (their eldest sister) referring to her younger brothers or sisters. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 68, also p. 70.

From brief observations among the Keresan and Tewa I infer that name avoidance and teknonymous phrases are not confined to the Zuñi. Of the Tewa Miss Barbara Freire-Marecco writes me in detail: The Indian name of the man who is the husband of the speaker's fellow-clanswoman is never used in his presence, or in speaking of him to his wife, much less in direct address. He is spoken of and to as "bridegroom." If there are several "bridegrooms" in the household, he should be distinguished as "the father of ———," naming his eldest child. If he has no children as "the husband of ———." "I have heard a man refer to his wife as 'my children's mother.' A woman addresses and refers to her husband, preferably, as 'so-and-so's father,' naming their eldest child. I have heard a childless couple identified by calling them the father and mother of an orphan child who lived in the clan house, although they took no special responsibility for him otherwise."

[2] They may go on thus referring to a woman when she is no longer the wife of the man in question.

may call the elder by a generation *tachu* or *tsita*. In the *kihe* or ceremonial friend relationship and in the clan relationships, difference in age is also expressed through these comparative *geschwister* terms. Even in the narrower family circle they may be used in a special way to denote difference in age. In one family group I know, for example, where there are two *kyakya* (mother's brother) the younger is called not *kyakya* but *papa*.[1] Notable in this connection is the use of the *geschwister* terms to express a difference of age between the speakers rather than between those to whom they owe their relationship.[2] For example, a man will call his cousin, his mother's sister's son, *papa*, the cousin calling him reciprocally *suwe* because the cousin is older than he, although the cousin's mother is younger than his mother.[3] The same order exists in the *kihe* relationship, the ceremonial friendship which in its use of kinship terms is a kind of adoptive brotherhood. Kumaa who calls his little *kihe* Jim, *suwe*, calls the young girl Jim calls his *kyauu*, *ikina*.

Kinship terms function, we have seen, for age-class terms. On the other hand, Zuñi age-class terms often function for kinship terms. For father's brother there is no distinctive term; he is referred to as *tachu tsanna*.[4] Father's sister's daughter or younger women in general in the father's clan are called *kuku tsanna*.[5] The mother's sisters, younger or older, may be referred to as *tsita tsanna* or *tsita łashi*. (There is, however, a distinctive term for mother's younger sister,—*tsilu*.) These qualifying adjectives are dropped in address. Ask a grandmother where she is going, and she may answer, "To see *hom atsanna*," all my little ones (*hom*, my; *a*, plural prefix, *tsanna*, little). Similarly a young person may

[1] Because there can be but one *kyakya* in a family, I was told. In the family in question the third and eldest maternal uncle now deceased, had been called *kyakya łashi*. After his death there was no change in the terms used.

[2] The opposite principle is followed for relatives by marriage. See p. 256, n. 2, also "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 59.

[3] According to Dr. Kroeber this principle is not followed for cross cousins. Here the woman's offspring is reckoned as the older. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 59.

[4] Or, if the father's older brother, *tachu łashi*. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 53. *tsanna* and *łashi* are also used in connection with grandparent terms and their reciprocals to denote great grandparents and great grandchildren and collateral relatives of their class. *Ib.* pp. 57, 58.

[5] They may also be called *kyauu*.

refer to his or her parents and senior relatives as *hom alashinawe*, all my old ones (*nawe*, plural suffix).[1] *aktsiki*, *katsiki* are the terms used for son and daughter, terms used not only by parents, but reciprocally by those whom the boy or girl calls father (*tachu*) or mother (*tsita*), *i. e.*, the father's brother, the mother's sister. Other relatives also may thus call them. For example, their *kuku*.[2] Grandparents, moreover, instead of using the reciprocal terms for their grandchildren [*nana*, son's and daughter's son; *hota*, daughter's daughter (w. sp.), son's daughter (m. sp.); *wowa*, son's daughter (w. sp.), daughter's daughter (m. sp.)], may call them *aktsiki*, *katsiki*. Similarly, as noted above, parents-in-law until a grandchild is born to them will call a son-in-law *aktsiki* instead of *talake*, a daughter-in-law, *katsiki* instead of *ulani*. Even after the birth of a child they might at times use *aktsiki* and *katsiki* as affectionate terms of address. Usually, however, as we have also noted, *an* or *awan* (his or their) *tachu* or *tsita*, are used, kinship terms functioning as age-class terms. There is however an age-class term for *an tsita* which is used in place of the kinship term, *i. e.*, *an* or *nan maki*, his or our person with a child, or *an maki tsan* or *lashi*, his person with a few children or with several children. Thus a man will call his wife's sister's daughter, his mother's brother's daughter, or his brother's daughter. A girl is called *katsiki* outside of the family in general until she bears a child, no matter how old she may be. She is also called *e tsanna* (little girl), *elle*, girl, and *ellashtoki*, big girl. *le* (an abbreviation of *elle* or *ellashtoki*) is a common way for a woman to summon her daughter. One mother of a thirteen-year-old girl I always heard call to the girl in this way. A boy referred to as *aktsiki otsi tsanna* (male, little) and later *aktsiki* until he is sixteen or eighteen,[3] then until he is middle-aged, *tsauwaki*. A woman will refer to her grown son as *hom tsauwaki*. In one case I know an old man calls his wife's brother *hom tsauwaki*. From the

[1] This expression is not now common; but in the folk tales Cushing has recorded it is used very often, Cushing translating it as "my old ones."

[2] Strictly she should call her nephew *tale*. In the ritual (see p. 194) I note that *tale* is also the reciprocal for *tachu*. In common use a father as well as a mother says *hom chale*. The term is used more or less gravely much as "my child" would be used in English.

[3] This period is quite disconnected with initiation or marriage or parenthood.

use in the tales I infer that in speaking to a parent about a son or daughter you regularly refer to him or her as *tsauwaki* or *ellashtoki*. Past middle age, a man or woman is called *łashi*, old. An old woman is also called *okatsiki* (*o* > *okya*, woman, *katsiki*, girl). A woman will call her husband, whatever his age, *hom łashiki*, my old man,[1] and a man, his wife—whatever her age, *hom okatsiki*.[2]

Sex terms, we see, as well as age terms function for kinship terms. Incidentally I will give the other substituting sex terms I got.[3] *anokyianawe* means women of the household (*an*, his, *a*, plural prefix, *okya*, woman, *nawe*, plural suffix), and *anotsinawe*, men of the household (*otsi*, man). *achiokya* (*achi*, a dual prefix) is a term for sister used in speaking of the sister of two brothers. In a family of one girl and two boys, any one might refer to the girl as *achiokya* (their woman). A man or a boy may refer to his sister as *hom okya*. He may, too, call her *elle*.

Besides the age-class terms already given, I noted for children, *aetsa*,[4] and for a man of middle age, *hoiyana* (*hoi*, person, *yana*, finished).[5] "He should have known better," a Zuñi would say, "because he is *hoiyana*." The term is not applied to women. Certain offices are described in age-class terms. The paramount "director of the house" is called *kiakwemosi łashi*,[6] and the two priests next in office *kiakwemosi tsanna*. The last in position among the *teniente*, "the tail of them" as I once heard the *tapup* say, is called *teniente tsanna*.

[1] *Cf.* "Tewa Kinship Terms," pp. 271, 280.

[2] Referring to them, they may also call them *oyemshi* (husband) and *oye* (wife).

[3] See too p. 321, n. 10.

[4] This may be a kinship term.

[5] The opposite of *hoiyana* is *kwa to' hoi teame* (not you person being) said of a wild, unsettled young man or of a person before he was born. Perhaps another opposite is *kâiyuna*, raw. Both a baby and unripe corn are called *kâiyuna*.

[6] *Cf.* "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 169 for somewhat different terms for the three *akiakwemosi*.

Installation of Tapup and Sipaloa Shiwanni, 1917

Prior to January 16, 1917, there were at Zuñi a governor (*tapup*), a lieutenant governor (*sipaloa shiwanni*, Mexican priest), five *tenientes* attaching to the *tapup* and four to the *sipaloa shiwanni*. The *tenientes* of the *tapup* are called respectively (1) *teniente* (or *tapup*) *mosona* (director), (2) (3) (4) *tapu teniente*, (5) *weachona'we* (*weana*, call) or crier.[1] The lowest in rank, the crier, is also called *teniente tsanna* (little).[2] The *tenientes* of the *sipaloa shiwanni* are called *sipaloa shiwanni mosona* and *sipaloa shiwanni ateniente*. The whole group of eleven is called *awan ulła* (their representatives),[3] and colloquially *tenientes*. Until recently the group consisted of eight officers, the *tapup* and his three *tenientes*, the *sipaloa shiwanni* and his three; but about five years ago, on the installation of new officers, two new offices were created, one for the staff of the *tapup* and one for the staff of the *sipaloa shiwanni*. Subsequently another office was added on the staff of the *tapup*. Additional offices were needed, it was said, because of the growing habit of leaving Zuñi for outlying settlements. Recently there has been talk of cutting down the whole group to four officers, but this talk may have been due to the temporary difficulty of filling vacancies.[4] By one informant, the outgoing *tapup*, I was told that anciently there were only

[1] He calls out from the house-top, from the highest roof in the pueblo, the orders of the *tapup*. Any *teniente* but the *tapup* himself may call out the orders.

[2] He also summons the *tenientes* to meetings. Standing outside of the door he says, *she*, to which the rejoinder is, *ha* (what). He also opens a meeting saying, "Why have we come?" He who had asked to have the meeting called would say *inamilte* (believe me) and then proceed to state the business. Each *teniente* in turn suggests a settlement, suggesting four times. If all proposals fail, the matter goes to the *tapup* for decision. If the disputant goes to the *tapup*, the *tapup* receives nothing; if the *tapup* goes to the disputant, the *tapup* receives a present, like as not a sheep.

As far as I know, the *tenientes* do not refer the cases which come to them, largely property questions, I think, to the sacerdotal authorities.

Any *teniente*, or any person with a grievance, may have a meeting called. Meetings are usually held in the house of the *tapup*. I have heard of meetings also in the house of the *sipaloa shiwanni*.

[3] *Cf.* same term for *shalako* personators, p. 183. The term may be *yanulła*.

[4] By midsummer this year (1917) there were five *tenientes*.

two officers and that their function was to keep out the Mexicans from the ceremonials.[1] Whether this was so or not that function attaches today to the so-called or miscalled lieutenant govenor, the *sipaloa shiwanni*.[2] By another informant I was told that formerly the *sipaloa shiwanni* had a crier of his own.[3]

Evidently, judging from the tradition of change, from recorded change and from the willingness to change, the composition of the group has been unstable. The instability has been largely due, I surmise, to the disintegration in the last few decades of the bow priesthood. According to Cushing, *awanuthla*[4] consisted of not only eight "political chiefs" but of four "martial chiefs," war chiefs let us call them. In his day, he says, *apiłashiwanni mosi* and *apiłashiwanni an suwe* appointed the *tapup*, who in turn appointed his three *tenientes*. The *apiłashiwanni mosi* and *apiłashiwanni an suwe* also appointed a bow priest as war chief. This war chief appointed three subordinates. He also appointed the *sipaloa shiwanni* who in turn appointed his three *tenientes*. As far as I can learn the offices of war chiefs have lapsed. The lapse would have affected of course the appointment of the *sipaloa shiwanni*.

Today, at any rate, the *sipaloa shiwanni* is appointed in the same way as the *tapup* and neither *tapup* nor *sipaloa shiwanni* has the power to appoint their respective subordinates.[5] All *ten-*

[1] Among the Sia this is a function of the war chiefs. "The Sia," pp. 18–9.

[2] But any *teniente*, if need be, would act. He would confine the Mexican in the house where the Mexican happened to be. Were a Mexican to see a mask he would die, I was told, and the Zuñi would not wish to be responsible.

[3] Dr. Kroeber heard that about fifty years ago there were six officers—a governor, lieutenant governor, and for each a speaker and public crier. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 180. See p. 277, n. 1.

[4] Cushing states, if a little obscurely, that *tenientes* and war chiefs represent the water and prey gods. "The Zuñi Social, Mythic, and Religious Systems," *The Popular Science Monthly*, vol. XXI (1882), p. 192. Today *awan ulła* are said to represent the people. According to Kroeber the governor may be called *annuła*, or rather should we not write *an uła*, his representative. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 178. I am inclined to see here some time reference to the Spanish authority.

[5] Dr. Kroeber states that the governor and the lieutenant governor are not appointed from the same clan and that theoretically, the other officers are from different clans appointed from the representative point of view which held, I suggested, in the selection of the *koyemshi*. But that out of the eleven officers six were either Badger or Child of Badger is a not insignificant fact.

ientes, *sipaloa shiwanni* and *tapup* are appointed by the *ashiwanni* of all the directions.[1] All or any one may be removed by the *ashiwanni* at any time and it is the *ashiwanni* who fill vacancies. Should the *tapup* die in office, the *ashiwanni* would probably select a *teniente* to succeed.

The officers are appointed annually, according to Stevenson,[2] and they may be continued in office. Although I heard talk during two successive years, in 1915 and in 1916,[3] of changing the officers, the idea of a formal choice each year does not appear today at least to be definite. The talk of change in 1915 occurred in connection with the "Saint's dance" (*satechiwe*). It was the year that ceremonial was last held. That the change of officers may occur in connection with the *satechiwe* is not insignificant,[4] I think, although I have heard Zuñi say that it has no particular significance, that the Saint's dance is the occasion on which the change takes place, when it takes place in summer or rather autumn, merely because at that time absentees return to Zuñi and a large gathering of the people is assured. This year, when the change was actually effected, it occurred not at the Saint's dance which occurs during the early part of September, but during the middle of January. "Some time after *shalako*" is the time when the officers are changed when the change occurs in winter. This year the *mahedinasha* of January 8–11 was said to be danced in order to bring the people together to consider the change. That any popular meeting did consider the change I was unable to learn while I was at Zuñi, but I have since heard that the people actually were called together in the plaza.[5] The regular time for the selection of the *tenientes* by the

[1] According to Cushing *apilashiwanni mosi* and *aplashiwanni an suwe* merely submitted their choice of *tapup*. They submitted it to the *akiakwemosi*. *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. XXI, p. 187.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," p. 289.

[3] See p. 267.

[4] In connection with the theory of the Spanish origin of the office of *tapup*, etc. Discussion of that theory I reserve for future publication. For a summary of the argument see *American Anthropologist*, vol. 19 (1917), pp. 454–6.

[5] According to Cushing, a meeting of all the men was called in *kanna* plaza to ratify the appointment of the *tapup*. The custom, I think, persists, the lack of a meeting this year after the appointment being due to peculiar circumstances.

ashiwanni is the night during *itiwonna* when personators of *koyemshi*, *awan tachu*, *sayatasha*, etc., are selected.

At this time the officers who were changed this year had been selected. They had held office for five years. There was a strong opposition against them led by the *apiłashiwanni mosi*. He was supported by the *kiakwemosi łashi*. The supporters of the officers were the *pekwĭn* and Lemi, *shiwanni* of the West.[1] For some time there seems to have been a balance of power. Then Lemi yielded and the priesthood decided to change officers. But how to do it and what successors to obtain were obviously not easy matters. The offices went begging and when candidates for *tapup* and *sipaloa shiwanni* were at last obtained, they were loath to face those whose positions they were to take. Consequently the priests appear to have planned to forego the customary ceremony of installation, Tsawele asking the outgoing officers to bring their canes of office privately to him, he to present them privately to

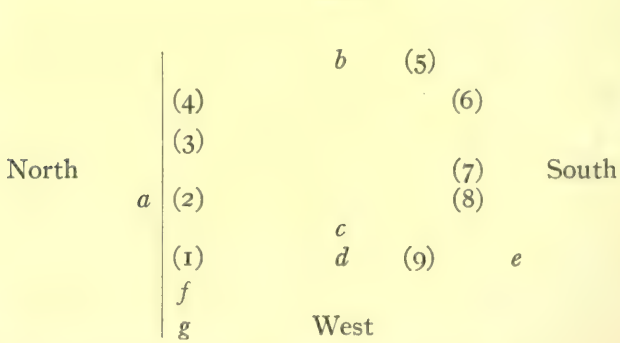
[1] The grounds of the opposition are part of a political history whose intricacies of family and personal friction I do not begin to understand. It is, I suspect, one of those feuds which, I also suspect, have always divided Pueblo Indian communities. Of this feud all I know is that it dates back at least to the change of officers five years ago. At that time (on January 29, we may note, and not on the occasion of the Saint's dance) Lemi was threatened with the guard house by the federal agent for not sending a child to school. For one of the *ashiwanni* of all the directions to be imprisoned was "an awful thing" and so the people (?) held that their go-betweens with the whites, *i. e.*, the *tenientes*, were not doing right. Hence "Turn the rascals out." One of the turned out *tenientes* was Jesus. (See p. 171). Now Tsawele was a friend of Jesus. (An old friend and supporter, I surmise. See "Zuñi Indians," p. 290. Stevenson tells of how Jesus at that time preferred charges against the then *tapup* and was supported by a bow priest). And Tsawele was angry over Jesus being put out of office. It was not Tsawele, but Lemi and the then *pekwĭn* who brought the new officers into *łanna* plaza to be installed. In 1915, Tsawele's rancor was added to because in his turn he was not only threatened with the guard house for keeping a child from school, he was actually locked up in the schoolhouse. Again the *tenientes* were held responsible. They resigned by giving up their canes, giving them up to Lemi. Eventually the canes were returned to them, reinstating them in office. All of this friction seems largely personal, but back of it I get glimmers of ancient institutional rivalries.

Of considerable interest is the fact that Jesus who has never been allowed to take part in ceremonials or dances, held office as a *teniente*.

Incidentally I note that in folk-tales a Mexican governor is referred to as *sipaloa tapup*.

their successors.[1] The outgoing *tapup* refused to do this. He wanted the old ceremony preserved, he said. If they wanted his cane they would have to fetch it themselves.

Things were thus chaotic three or four days when on the afternoon of January 16, as we were sitting in the house of the wife of the *tapup*, we saw Tsawele and the *tapup* approach. They came in. Tsawele told the *tapup* to get his cane. The *tapup* said to Tsawele, *imu* (sit). He sat down. The *tapup* fetched his cane, saying in Zuñi, "Here it is," and then, to our surprise, Tsawele, instead of taking it, said to the *tapup*, "Bring it with you." It seems that the installation was to take place not according to custom in *łanna* plaza, *i. e.*, in public, but privately in the home of the *kiakwemosi łashi*. The uncle (mother's brother) of the *tapup* had been telling me folk-tales that afternoon and as we followed Tsawele and the *tapup* in to town, the uncle invited me to go with him to the installation ceremony. We were the only outsiders. We arrived about 3.30 and found the assemblage as diagrammed below.



1 = Lemi, *temakoha shiwanni*, *shiwanni* of the West.
2 = Okash, *alaho shiwanni*, *shiwanni* of the South.

[1] It is customary for the *ashiwanni*, after having learned if the men they have chosen will accept office, to tell the bow priests to summon the outgoing officers to the plaza. They used to be summoned, said an aged informant, speaking of the Saint's dance, while the dance was on. In the installation which occurred in January, 1912, there was no dance on and the *pekwĭn* and the *shiwanni* of the West went about summoning the people to the plaza.

3 = The *pekwĭn, inania shiwanni, shiwanni* of the above. (His name in Momo, but "the *pekwĭn* is never known to any one by his personal name.")

4 = The *kiakwemosi łashi* (director of the house, old) *pislanke shiwanni, shiwanni* of the North. (His nickname is *nachukwatone.* See p. 281.) Some might call him by his personal name; my informant stated that she did not know it.[1] He is usually referred to by his title.

5 = Waiyikua, *apiłashiwanni an suwe,* younger brother bow priest.

6 = Waihusiwa, *kalishi shiwanni, shiwanni* of the East.[2]

7 = Lutsteti (Lewis) outgoing *tapup.*

8 = Tomaka (Nick) *sipaloa shiwanni* elect.

9 = Sisaiwa (Earnest, pronounced Annis), *tapup* elect.

a = wall seat.

b = fireplace.

c = position taken first by outgoing *tapup* then by *kiakwemosi łashi* when inducting into office.

d = position taken by Tsawele, before and after ceremony and by incoming *tapup* and *sipaloa shiwanni* while being inducted into office.

e = position taken during the ceremony by Tsawele, *apiłashiwanni mosi,* and *manilama shiwanni, shiwanni* of the below.

f and *g* positions taken by myself and my companion.

The two *kiakwemosi tsanna* (director of the house, little) were not present. One was out of town. The absence of the other was said to be due to his partisanship with the outgoing *tenientes.*

All the party was present as we joined it except Tsawele. As

[1] Dr. Kroeber tells me it is Tsatsana.

There is undoubtedly at Zuñi a reluctance to give outsiders people's Indian names. On my first visit to Zuñi I could learn few Indian names and among them were *not* the names of the members of the household I had joined. On that visit one of my acquaintances (Nina) told me flatly, when I was indiscreet enough to ask her, that she did not know her mother's name.

[2] See "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 169, for further information about Waihusiwa *shiwanni* of the East and Lemi, *shiwanni* of the West. As for the incumbent of office of *shiwanni* of the South, Okash, he is, I infer, no. 3 of priesthood 3 of Kroeber's table 12. To me Okash was always referred to as a head *shiwanni.* See "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 181, n. 2.

we sat waiting for him there was desultory talk between Okash, the *kiakwemosi łashi*, Waiyikua, and Waihusiwa. They also smoked. The outgoing *tapup* and the two incoming officers neither smoked nor talked. Neither did Lemi or the *pekwĭn*, thereby indicating, it was suggested later, their disapproval of the procedure. All the priests were men of fifty-five or over. The *kiakwemosi łashi* looked over seventy. The outgoing *tapup* was a man of forty; Earnest,[1] his successor, looked twenty-five, and Nick,[2] the incoming *sipaloa shiwanni*, over fifty. During this time and even during the subsequent ceremony the household went about their business—a woman made fire and for a few minutes used her sewing machine,

[1] After Earnest left the Albuquerque school he was appointed night watchman and interpreter at Black Rock, the boarding school four miles from Zuñi.

[2] The election of Nick has a peculiar interest. Eighteen or twenty years ago Nick was prosecuted as a witch by the very priesthood now supporting him. The story runs that one night late five boys who had been out after *burros* saw a figure in the street looking in the window of a house they were passing. Seeing the boys, the lurking person jumped behind a wagon. The boys told the inmates of the house, they went out and caught—Nick. His hair was ruffled up (a witch's hair is said to grow like an owl's horns) and his face painted grey with ashes. They took him to the bow priests who straightway hung him to a beam projecting from the church wall. His arms were crossed behind his back and he was hung by his thumbs. There he hung speechless for two nights and one day without food or drink. As the bow priests passed by they would knock or kick him and he would shriek from the pain of his dislocated joints. On the morning of the second day Nick said he would talk. The plaza was crowded. They sent for the witnesses. Nick stated that he was indeed bewitching the woman of the house where he was lurking. He had with him at that time a centipede which he had planned to order to go into the woman's side. (The insect had to do what he ordered.) He had planned this against the woman because some time before as he was standing by an oven where the woman was baking bread she took out the bread and failed to offer him any, an offense indeed in Zuñi eyes. After this confession, they turned Nick loose. As he went off he said, "Now you will see what will happen to you." He subsequently got a troop of American soldiers from Fort Wingate with the well-known result that the head bow priest, Naiuchi, the great Naiuchi and the five other bow priests were arrested and jailed for two years. *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians" p. 406. And the man responsible was the man the bow priests were now restoring to a respectable position in Zuñi society, restoring although people still murmured that he had three hearts, his own, a witch heart, and the heart of *k͡aipinahowi* (raw, *i. e.*, uncooked persons). Animals and *koko* are *k͡aipinahowi*. Cushing applies the term to the animals and animal gods. "Zuñi Fetiches," p. 10. *Cf.* the Hopi belief that sorcerers have not a single heart. "Traditions of the Hopi," p. 16.)

Incidentally I note that Nick had belonged to the *matke łanna* fraternity and that he was not turned out from it after the witchcraft episode.

the children went in and out and once during the prayer a child had to be lifted off the blanket that was knelt on in prayer.

In about twenty minutes Tsawele entered. Sitting at *d* he talked for a few minutes, telling how the outgoing *teniente tsanna* had refused to give up his cane because it was, he claimed, his personal property.[1] He had been given it by his uncle, a Zuñi[2] who had gone to New York with Cushing and had got the cane there. After telling this story, Tsawele stood up and proceeded to spread on the floor in front of his seat a blanket belonging to the house and to fold up his own blanket and place it on the box he had been sitting on.[3] He then withdrew to position *e* and the *tapup* elect sat down on the blanketed box. In front of him knelt[4] the outgoing *tapup* on his right knee,[5] holding in both hands in a

[1] Several officers had refused to give up their canes on this ground. Hanging on the wall of the house of the *kiakwemosi łashi* were, in fact only three canes, one of them that of the outgoing *sipaloa shiwanni* or rather of the incumbent who had a few weeks before resigned as a result of a quarrel with Kwanton, the governor before Lewis. A general meeting had been called in the plaza to discuss Kwanton's title to some land at Nutria. Dick, the *sipaloa shiwanni*, attended with his cane. He declared against Kwanton's right to the land. Whereupon Kwanton claimed from Dick some money Dick owed him. The demand was of course out of place. Dick tried to hand his cane to Kwanton, but it ended in his throwing it down in the plaza. A *teniente* picked it up and carried it to the *ashiwanni*. The *ashiwanni* offered the cane back to Dick but he refused it. Now the *ashiwanni* would fine Dick for disrespect to the cane. His whole performance was highly improper from the Zuñi point of view. A cane must be held until it is passed on to a successor and passed on with the proper ceremony. Otherwise a *teniente* continued to be a *teniente*. There is a group of men who must still be thought of as *tenientes* because they resigned unceremonially as a result of a quarrel with a school superintendent at Albuquerque whom the Zuñi called the *meatoshle* (*me* > American), he was so arbitrary.

Other resignations in temper are heard of. There is a tradition of a *tapup* who over a half century ago broke his cane (it was before the day of the Lincoln cane) in the plaza because the people would not follow him on a question of drink and Navajo. In the course of the schoolhouse row of 1915 the *kyakya* (mother's brother) of the *tapup*, angry over the way the men were figuratively "tearing the *tapup* to pieces," went to the house of the *tapup* and took the cane from the wall saying, "I won't let him go on being *tapup*. I am taking away the cane. Nor can you do anything about it. I am his *kyakya*." (See p. 255.)

[2] Palowahtiwa, *tapup* in Cushing's day.

[3] In the installation of an "associate" *shiwanni* the seating was in charge of *apilashiwanni an suwe*, "Zuñi Indians," p. 168.

[4] Genuflexion occurs, I was told, in no other Zuñi ceremonial.

[5] See p. 291, n. 2.

slanting to vertical position his cane. He had dropped his blanket as did all those present. He himself was wearing no *banda*, but the others did and these *banda* they also removed.[1] All but the two officers, the one sitting, the other kneeling, stood. (My companion had motioned to me too to stand.) The kneeling *tapup* now said, speaking almost inaudibly, the prayer which is given below.[2] At its conclusion he moved the cane forward four times to the mouth of him he was installing for him to breathe on (*yĕchu*).[3] (*tapup* means the blower on the cane—*tame*, cane, *pu'ha*, blowing.) Then the incoming *tapup* received into his hands the cane and the ex-*tapup* withdrew to stand in front of his seat. Thereupon the *kiakwemosi łashi* took the place the ex-*tapup* had vacated, he too kneeling on his right knee. He takes the cane from the incoming *tapup*. Then he makes the sign of the Cross (*sipaloa haĭtoshne*, Mexican rule), passing his right hand from the left temple to the right, from forehead to chin, from left shoulder to right, from forehead to breast, and at the same time he says, his lips moving inaudibly, the "Mexican prayer" (*polaseniya*[4]). At its conclusion the *kiakwemosi łashi* said audibly "*talemo* (my child)," to which the governor elect answered, "*tachimo* (my father)." The *kiakwemosi łashi* pro-

[1] As in the installation of an "associate" *shiwanni*. "Zuñi Indians," p. 169. In all ceremonials the *banda* is removed. Because of the continuity of his ceremonial life the last *pekwin* never wore a *banda*.

[2] According to an aged informant the *tapup* used to say the "Mexican prayer." "In changing their governor they had to pray first with the Mexican prayer."

[3] *yĕchu*, the rite of breathing upon and reciprocally drawing in breath, exchanging breaths, is important, as we have already noted, in Zuñi ceremonialism. The exhaler is supposed to ask the Sun for the breath and then to breathe it out (*pinaŋkwaĭu*, breath go out) on the object in question for the other person to breathe it in. See pp. 274–76. "The breath is the life" or, as we would say, the soul. *Cf. Century*, IV (N.S.), 47; "The Traditions of the Hopi," p. 128. A somewhat Americanized Zuñi will say that in *kołuwela* there is nobody, only the breath, although the next moment he will tell you that in *kołuwela* they dance all the time.

[4] As given me later the movements differed a little from those made, as I thought, by the *kiakwemosi łashi*. The index finger of the right hand is bent, the thumb held close to it and erect. As they touch the respective places the following words are said: Left temple (*ela santu*), right temple (*kulusi*), middle breast (*lenuishta*), forehead (*imimiku*), left shoulder (*liplanseniola*), right shoulder (*ios*), forehead to chin (*immipali*), middle breast (*elelelho*), left temple (*eleshpintu*), middle chin (*santu*), blowing into hand (*amikiasusi*).

polaseniya is, I presume, *por la sehna*, for the sign.

ceeded to pray. He prayed audibly and every few seconds the company would rejoin *hachi* or *helete*, words meaning "that is so." [1] This prayer is given below. At the close of the prayer the *kiakwemosi łashi* moved the cane forward four times to the mouth of the *tapup* elect to breathe from. The *tapup* elect now took the cane and returned to stand by his seat. Exactly the same ceremony was performed for the *sipaloa shiwanni*. As the ex-*sipaloa shiwanni* was not present to install his successor, the outgoing *tapup*, using of course the *sipaloa shiwanni* cane which Tsawele took down from the wall and handed to him, acted in his place. Ordinarily all the outgoing officers are present and each installs his successor, the *kiakwemosi łashi* likewise taking part in each case. As it was, the ceremony which had begun at 4 p.m. lasted only fifteen minutes.

At the conclusion of the ceremony the ex-*tapup* left the house, saying as he went, "*soanne* (I am going)," to which the others rejoined,

soanne to'o yato kokshi sunakyinaptu,
you sun good going down

formulas of leave-taking customarily used in the house of *shiwanni* or *teniente*. Then Tsawele sat down in position *d* and talked for two or three minutes. Nick, *sipaloa shiwanni*, followed him, saying, I was told subsequently, that in two or three weeks they would have to call out the people to work on the ditch. If the people did not heed them, the *tenientes*, they would want to be relieved of their offices.[2] Earnest, *tapup*, then spoke saying that the *tenientes* were going to act in a new way, for one thing they were going to recommend leasing the grazing lands.[3] Earnest was but halfway through his speech when Waihusiwa broke in and talked, both men going on to talk more or less at the same time. Waihusiwa[4] was telling

[1] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 170.

[2] It is usually difficult to get the men to work on the ditch. In 1916 when they were ordered out by the *tenientes* it had been necessary to appeal to the federal stock agent to get them out. Communal work without the old sanctions is undertaken, I infer, reluctantly.

[3] The outgoing *tenientes* had opposed the lease, so they said, on the ground that all would have to pay the tax irrespective of whether or not they owned sheep. Leopold, the son of Jesus, was to collect the tax and pay it over to the federal agent. Leopold told me only sheep owners who would profit from the lease were taxed.

[4] He belongs to the *paltokwe* like the *pekwin*. See p. 239.

Tsawele he should treat the new *tenientes* better than he had treated their predecessors. When Earnest concluded, Tsawele began again. In the middle of his speech Earnest and Nick got up and went out, saying "*soanne*" to receive the rejoinder "*soanne to'o yato kokshi sunakyinaptu.*" At the conclusion of Tsawele's speech, my companion and I left.

PRAYER OF TAPUP[1]

lutkia yattone honia yatokia tachu ilapona yam telachinakwi[2] to' yelana
this day our sun father we have your place of being you run
kwa͡ikiana hom to' ona elate hom atachu hom atsita chimikianokowa[3]
go out me you road overtake my fathers my mothers from the beginning
ka͡iettowe[4] chuettowe awan teusupenaŋ akya tom ho yatekia lewi yam
their prayers with(?) you I take hold all my
hoi tom ho utsi yam ulo'nane tom ho utsi to hom an tikwana hoi
people you I give my country (land) you I give you my carefully people
aiupatshikyana hom an ulo'nane tikwana to' aiupatshikyana yam atachu
look out for my country carefully you look out for my fathers
awan pinaŋ łanan[5] yam pinaŋłanan yalune toman ho pinaŋ[6] teliahu[7]
their breath my breath behind to you I breath add to
holi yam yatokia tachu an onayanakya[8] oneałankwa͡inikwi[8] techina to'
where my sun father his road finished way go out to get there you
onayatu kwaoła ikwakni to' peyapa lewi towashiwann[9] an
road finished whatever work you talk all *ashiwanni* the
chawe kwa tom anhatiwaannamaa kwilli kanholi hai kanholi
children not you listen two times three times

[1] In distinction to the truly sacerdotal prayer which follows, this layman's prayer was referred to as the prayer of a poor person (*tewokolia*, not having much, *hoi*, person).

[2] *telachina* is a sacred word.

[3] *I. e.*, of the existence of the Ashiwi. A sacred word.

[4] Stevenson translates "rain and crop fetiches," *kia*, rain; *chu* > *chuwe*, seeds. "Zuñi Indians," p. 76, 163 and pls. XXXII and XXXIII. For the prime importance of these and other *ettowe* see "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 167–8. Around the *ettowe*, Dr. Kroeber holds, "priesthoods, fraternities, clan organizations, as well as most esoteric thinking and sacred tradition, group themselves."

[5] Sacred word.

[6] Common word for breath.

[7] Used in sacred connection. Both common words but used together—a sacred connection.

[8] Sacred word used when the dance leader with the *mili* sprinkles meal before moving on.

[9] Used when *ashiwanni* are referred to solemnly as a whole. *towa* = home-made (native) or corn. See p. 163, n. 2.

awitennia kanholi to' yatokhana kwa akya tom iyatonnanteamkyana
four times you strike them[1] not hence you blame
lewi tom ahoi teusupenaṇ yakiakia tewuna hom papa tom
this much you people prayers finished that is why my older brother you
teko'hannan anichiatu[2]
light wish

This day our Sun father we have. Your place of being you have run out from. Me you have overtaken. My fathers, my mothers, from the beginning, *kai ettowe chu ettowe*, with their prayers you I take hold of. All my people I give you. My country I give you. You will look out for my people carefully. My country you will look out for carefully. For you I add my breath unto the breath of my fathers. Wherever my Sun father makes the road and the way out his road you take. If the children of the *ashiwanni* do not listen to you when you tell of work, twice, thrice, four times strike them.[1] You will not in consequence be blamed. Thus the prayer of your people concludes. So my elder brother I wish you light.

Prayer of Kiakwemosi Łashi

Ma lutkia yattone honia yatokia tachu ilapaateona yam telachinakwi to'
this day our sun father we have your place of being you
yelana kwa͡ikiana ho awona(?) elatepa yam atachu chimikianokowa
run go out I road catch up my fathers from the beginning
awan asinakya awan ikenanakya tom łoyatena tsumekyakya hom atachu hom
their hands their hearts you hold strong my fathers my
atsita awan teusupenaṇakya toman ho pinaṇ teliahu templa yam atachu
mothers their prayers to you I breath add to all my fathers
telachinulapna ho teusu teko'hanna yanshemakya pilashiwanni kali-
place of living around I pray light ask bow priest west
ashiwanni alaashiwanni temakohaashiwanni[3] iaashiwanni manilaashiwann
shiwanni south *shiwani* east *shiwanni* above *shiwanni* below *shiwanni*
lutkniako awan onayanakya pinaṇe awan łashiaka[4] pinaṇe awan toshonane
these their road finished breath their ancestors breath their seeds

[1] Actually a *teniente* is expected to issue an order four times. Then if he is not obeyed, he may use force. For example, were a *teniente* to ask a man to work on the ditch, and the man refused, after asking him four times the *teniente* would be at liberty to hit him—he being supposed not to hit back.

[2] Expression used by person visited by *shiwanni*. The *shiwanni* takes his hand, advances clasped hands to mouth of other who breathes upon them, then the *shiwanni* takes in the breath breathed on his hands, then the other says the above formula.

[3] Of these terms for the four quarters *kali* or *kalishi* (west) *ala* or *alaho* (south) are, according to Cushing, sacred terms and *temakoha* (east) and *pislanke* (*pishlankwin*) (the latter dropped out here, I infer, by mistake, but see p. 269), common terms. "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 355–356.

[4] Sacred word.

pinaṇe awan kyashima pinaṇe awan tsemakwin tsume pinaṇ ilapaateona ho
breath their rains breath their mind strong breath having I
pinan yanshemana yam tehułanakwi ho piṇayanekuna kwatokyana toman ho
breath ask my inside I breathe breath come in to you I
pinaṇ teliahu hom atachu ṇawan pina yachitaname[1] yam tehułkaⁿinakwi[1] to'
breath add my fathers their breath do not mind my inside warm you
piṇayanekuna kwatokyana yam yatokia tachu an onayanakya oneałankwaⁿinikwi
breathe breath come in my sun father the road finished way go out
oneałtechina[2] to' onayatunakya lewi toman ho teusupenaṇ yakiakya
way to get there you road finished this much to you I prayer finished
hom chale to tsema ikokchuna[3] to ikeena ikokchuna yam atachu yam atsita
my child your mind make good your heart make good my fathers my mothers
chimikianokowa awan teusupenaṇ akya tom liło teko'hannan anichiatu
from the beginning their prayers you here light I wish
hom chale yam ulo'nan tom ho utsi yam hoi tom ho utsi yam masiwe yam asiwe
my child my country you I give my people you I give my backs my hands
to awichemana eł kwamas penaṇ akya hom ahoi eł to' anhemotantu lewi
you love no trifle talk with my people not you scold thus
yam ulo'nane lewi yam hoi to' awichemana lutkia yattone hom chale lewi
my country thus my people you love this day my child thus
toman ho teusupenaṇe yakiakya tom teko'hannan anichiatu
to you I prayers finished you light wish

Ma[4] this day our Sun father we have. Your place of being you have run out from. Me you have overtaken. The hands, the hearts of my fathers from the beginning do you hold strongly. To all the prayers of my fathers and my mothers for you I add my breath. Of all my fathers round about I ask in prayer light. The breath of the bow priest, the *shiwanni* of the west, the *shiwanni* of the south, the *shiwanni* of the east, the *shiwanni* of the above, the *shiwanni* of the below, the breath of these mature persons, the breath of their old ones [ancestors], the breath of their seeds, the breath of their rains, the breath of their strong minds, I ask. My breath inside I breathe to come into you. I give you the breath of my fathers if you do not mind taking it warm from me. The breath I breathe comes into you. When you reach the way over of my Sun father, his road finished, may you be old, your road finished. Thus for you have I finished the prayer. My child, make good your mind, make good your heart. With the prayers of my fathers and my mothers from the beginning. I wish you here light. My child, my country I give you, my people I give you. Love my backs, my hands.[5] Do not scold your people for light talk.[6] My child, my prayer for you I have finished. I wish you light.

[1] Sacred word.

[2] Meaning "to grow old."

[3] Or compose. If some one dies, people will say, *ikokchuna* (stop thinking about it; compose yourself.)

[4] An introductory syllable common in Zuñi speech.

[5] *I. e.*, the backs and hands of my people, *i. e.*, respect them as workers.

[6] Or is it, "With light talk do not scold your people"?

The day after the installation the new officers went to Black Rock to call on the "Agent," the representative of the Indian Bureau. Formerly, when the agent was stationed at Santa Fé the *tenientes* went there. From the account I got of that customary journey from an aged informant I surmise that the custom of the newly installed officers reporting to the alien authority may date back to the Spanish régime. In the house of the ex-*tapup* a less formal meeting took place a few days later. The ex-officers met to agree upon a policy of no opposition to the new *tenientes* and to impress this policy in particular upon the ex-*teniente tsanna*, one who was notoriously a trouble-maker because he was fond of talking.[1]

[1] Word comes, November, 1917, that this man (Owilisio), another member of the 1912–16 *tenientes* and Lewis (again as *tapup*) have been reinstated. Three new men have been added, making a board of six. Earnest's administration was not entirely satisfactory. "He did only what the whites told him. He would not settle any of their (Zuñi) affairs."

Sanction[1] and Purification

Physical force is not a characteristic Zuñi sanction. Theoretically the *tenientes* may resort to physical force.[2] And so may, no doubt, the "policeman" who is appointed by the Indian Bureau, although, as far as I know, the office is a sinecure.[3] One night as I accompanied the *tapup* on a round of the *shalako* dances I saw him take off, at times rather brusquely, the hats of the Navajo visitors who were unaware of the rule of uncovering at Zuñi ceremonials. During the same celebration of *shalako* the *tapup* had joined with the American stock agent in confiscating the bottles of whiskey the Navajo had brought into town. At the *shalako* indoor night dances I have seen sleepy children kept awake by a gentle use of force by their elders. At a dance in the plaza when things are thrown to the onlookers by the dancers there are much scrambling and tugging, all to be sure very good natured. These little quasi-demonstrations of force aside I have still to see in Zuñi any actual display of physical violence as a means to enforce an end.

Confiscation of property or fining is not unknown at Zuñi. The *tenientes* fine. In this connection the following case is of interest. A trespassing horse was fired at to frighten him off; but by mischance he was wounded. The owner took the matter to the *tenientes* and asked for damages. The *tenientes* decided that $100 were to be given to the owner, likewise a mule belonging to the

[1] I use the term to mean the more or less socially recognized means taken or in mind to enforce socially acceptable conduct.

[2] But whatever distinctive power they have comes to them through their canes rather than through their right to knock down the refractory. Of interest in this connection is the fact that when during the schoolhouse row in 1915 the cane of the *tapup* for a time disappeared, it was considered impossible to reinstate him without a cane. Without a cane he could not be *tapup*. Any one might question his authority, saying, "Where is your cane?" In these circumstances Tsawele supplied an old cane in his possession, an orange colored stick which, warmed up, became limber enough to be bent in a circle. It was hollow and filled with seed corn. *Cf. The Sia*, p. 17. See too "Zuñi Indians," p. 163, for the *chu ettone*, eight hollow seed-filled reeds.

[3] The creation of the office is a striking instance of the blindness of one culture to another.

defendant's father. The mule exchanged hands, but pending the outcome of the wound, the money was not paid over. On the complete recovery of the horse, the defendant's wife went and took back the mule. Thereupon the *tenientes* decided that since she had taken the mule, the mule now belonged to her, not to her father-in-law, but that she and her husband would have to pay $50, half to go to the owner of the horse and half to be divided up among the five acting *tenientes* because she had "kept them from keeping their word."

The *ashiwanni* appear likewise to impose fines. Recently when the *sipaloa shiwanni* (lieutenant governor) threw down his cane of office in the plaza and refused to take it back when it was offered to him by the *ashiwanni*, the *ashiwanni*, it was said, were about to fine him for "disrespect to the cane." No other instance of fining by the *ashiwanni* have I been able to learn of.

When at the last celebration of the *owinahaiye* a man was accidentally shot to death by Leopold, son of Jesus, the Mexican, the family of the deceased sent word to Leopold that they "would not feel so bad" if he would present a blanket to be buried with the dead. This incident is strongly suggestive of what may have been a general practice in such circumstances. (Leopold refused.)

Several of the instances of the use of force or of confiscation I have given or referred to are of foreign introduction. But of the use of force as an indubitably native measure there are instances. A crying child will be told that the owl will peck out his eyes, and any naughty child may hear that the witches will get him. I have referred to keeping a child awake at a ceremonial dance, and to switching by *shalako* personators as an anti-soporific. I have heard of persons being kept awake at ceremonies in the *kiwitsine* by the yucca whips of the *sayaŧia*.[1] The *sayaŧia* whip on several occasions, but as these whippings appear to be purificatory rather than penal I will refer to them later. On their domiciliary visits the *atoshle* or the *koyemshi* are said sometimes to drag a boy to the river to give him a needed wash. *atoshle* will also threaten to cut off the ears of a refractory child with his formidable knife

[1] *Cf.* too "Zuñi Indians," p. 130; Cushing in *Century*, IV (N.S.), p. 31.

and the old woman *atoshle* will threaten to carry off a disobedient or disrespectful child in her basket.[1] *atoshle* serves as a kind of sergeant-at-arms when men are remiss in attending *kiwitsine* meetings. I hear of other masks also being sent after absentees.[2] In these cases a magical rather than a physical pressure is the sanction, but what it is I would not venture to say. The Zuñi may hardly know themselves, for the order of the masked personage is probably never disobeyed. "You just go," say they.

The detection of witches comes within the province of the *apilashiwanni* and to extort confession they use or once used physical force. The arms of the suspect were crossed behind his back and he was suspended by his thumbs to a beam which projected from the church wall.[3] Once he "confessed," he was let go, at least in the cases I have heard of. In other words the torture was rather to extort confession than to inflict punishment. I may add that after this form of torture was suppressed by the federal government, the bow priests appeared to resort to persistent nagging to extort confession. In the last two notorious witchcraft cases, a measles epidemic six or seven years ago, and a few years before that a grasshopper plague, the suspect admitted his offense in order to get rid of the bow priests. "Tell them something," his people had urged. "He was worn out with the pestering of the bow priests."[4] Exile is not uncommonly the outcome of the charge of witchcraft, but to what extent it is "voluntary" and to what extent compulsory I have still to learn.

The charge of witchcraft or the threat of it is certainly a Zuñi sanction for compelling social conformity. "The worst thing you can call any one is a witch." Merely to be talked about or ridiculed are likewise sanctions. Idle persons, particularly idle women, *i. e.*, women who are not incessantly industrious are "talked about."

[1] See too "The Zuñi *A'Doshle* and *Suukĕ*," pp. 343–6.

[2] The *itiwonna* appointments are made or announced in *heiwa kiwitsine*. That night any man may go into *heiwa* but once in he must stay all night. This year a man went in and then went home. *shitsuki* was sent after him to bring him back.

[3] See p. 270, n. 2.

[4] He may well have been afraid of them too. Failure to confess, according to Cushing, meant disappearance and death. *Century*, IV (N.S.), p. 43.

Persons breaking exogamous restrictions would be ridiculed. "You are just like a dog or a *burro*," would be the taunt. An unsettled young man who ran after women would be described as not much of a person, *kwa* (not) *to* (you) *hoi* (person) *teame* (being). (The same phrase is used to describe existence before birth, *i. e.*, it is equivalent to "before you were born.") *ihantlia*, stealer, *i. e.*, adulteress, is a taunt used against a woman. Children, not adults, will taunt one another with a death in the family. "Your grandmother died last week!" "Your father is dead!" Personal defects are also ridiculed by children. A little boy I know is teased by the other boys because he is blind in one eye. Nicknaming, a habit to which the Zuñi are extremely addicted,[1] is of interest from this standpoint. Even the *kiakwemosi łashi* is nicknamed, nicknamed *nachukwatone* (*na* > *nana*, grandfather, *chukwatone*, bent) from his humped shoulders. (I suspect a *double entendre* here, a pleasantry the Zuñi are also much given to. (*chu* > *chuwe*, seeds.)

Magic, black or white, is the most common or characteristic Zuñi sanction. It may be exercised individually or officially, or it may work automatically. Magic exercised individually, even for social ends, is, I suppose, witchcraft, and from the Zuñi point of view reprehensible. When Nick undertook to send a centipede into the side of the woman who had begrudged him bread,[2] his grievance was quite valid, but he was nevertheless disapproved of as a witch. Begrudging any one not only food but any object is more or less reprehensible in Zuñi eyes—reprehensible because dangerous and dangerous because the one you deny may work magic against you. You are visiting, let us say, in the house of a kinsman or ceremonial kinsman. You see a newly acquired Navajo blanket. "Has no one taken it down?" you ask your host. "No," answers he, "although some have said they would." "I will take it down," you say and off you go with it either to give him something in return some day or to be asked by him for something.

[1] Dr. Davis, the resident government physician, a negro, is called *akwakwin* (medicine black). From some khaki clothes Dr. Kroeber was called *note'kia*, oriole. Sacrosanct names appear to be used as nicknames. Two children of an ex-missionary storekeeper are called *hepatina* and *halonakwe*.

[2] See p. 270, n. 2.

The more or less unconscious sanction of this free-handedness is witchcraft and yet were the deprived one to practise magic against the niggard he would certainly be treated as a witch.

I note an exception. As a punishment for adultery under certain circumstances black magic may be worked with impunity. Infidelity in a wife will be revealed to a man who is hunting by the deer he encounters. The buck will mount the doe. If on his return the hunter rubs his wife with a ball[1] made from the heart of the doe and her lover with a ball of buck heart, both will pine to death. While a husband is out hunting a woman is supposed "to stay still" *i. e.* not to gad about, not to go out except for such necessity as fetching water; otherwise the hunter will have bad luck.

On the other hand black magic exercised collectively or officially is not accounted witchcraft. The *koyemshi* practise or are closely associated with black magic,[2] and the fraternities are said to have incantations for injury.[3] Neither *koyemshi* personators nor fraternity members are thought of as witches. Official position does not render any one exempt, however, from the charge of witchcraft.[4]

In view of the make-up of their masks, the *koyemshi*[5] may be said to practise black magic, but the actual results are automatic. Their critic or begrudger will of himself come to grief. Such automatic magical sanction is by far the most prevalent in Zuñi life. If you tell a tale out of season *i. e.* in the summer, a snake[6] will bite you.[7] A child must sit up straight while he listens to a folk tale otherwise his back will grow crooked.[8] If you fail to observe continence on ceremonial occasions you will die,[9] or, if you are a

[1] *Cf.* "Zuñi Fetiches," pp. 37–8.

[2] See p. 236.

[3] *Cf.* Parsons, E. C. "A Few Zuñi Death Beliefs and Practices." *American Anthropologist*, vol. 18 (1916), p. 245, n. 2.

[4] Stevenson, pp. 393, 395. Very poor persons are peculiarly open to the charge. Accordingly the threat of charging with witchcraft is a sanction, so to speak, against becoming poor.

[5] See p. 235.

[6] *Cf.* Bandelier, "Final Report," pt. 1, p. 301.

[7] Unless you circumvent him by holding a blossom in your hand as you narrate. Children are told too that snakes will bite them if they wander afield. Formerly they were told that the Navajo would get them.

[8] *Cf.* the Sioux belief. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XIV (1901), p. 164.

[9] The last *shiwanni okya* and the last *pekwin* are said to have died for this reason.

sacred personator, a *koyemshi* or a *shalako*[1] you will fall when you are engaged in ceremonial, thereby furnishing evidence of your guilt. Fasting from meat or sweets or salt is a feature in connection with some of the ceremonial retreats, particularly in connection with fraternity initiations. The breaker of such taboos would "not be able to keep anything," his crops would fail, he would meet with misfortune in general. On the eve of a stick race the racers plant feather-sticks and bury *hewe* at *akwia kaĭpa*. Thence they are supposed to go directly to the house of the manager of the race or of a bow priest. Were they to look backwards on their course or the following day as they raced, they would die. According to Stevenson a *shuma·kwe* who wore a fraternity mask without secluding himself at home for four days would die. "The mask would stick to his face and break the skin, and he would become crazy and die in four days."[2] Fail, indeed, to observe any ceremonial requirements and "something will happen." Perhaps rain will not fall on your fields. Rain would not fall for you were you to fail to take the feather-sticks of *koyemshi* or *shalako i. e.* volunteer to entertain them, when you said or even thought you would. During 1916 a man dreamed he had offered to take the feather-sticks of the *koyemshi*. He did not carry out his dream purpose and he was consequently hurt in a wagon accident. His leg was injured and sepsis set it. This year he is to take the feather-sticks of the *koyemshi*. In another case I heard of, a woman had suggested borrowing the people of the *kiwitsine* to work on a house she had building.[3] Subsequently her husband fell off his horse. He blamed his wife for the accident because, said he, she had had no business to say she would entertain the *kiwitsine shalako* when she did not mean it. This man was blamed himself some years ago for the blindness of his son. While his wife was pregnant he went rabbit hunting—shooting the rabbit in the head or eye and thus causing blindness in the child. There are a number of pregnancy

[1] See pp. 200–1. You show not only that you have been incontinent but that you have not "believed in your prayers." The fall is not a directly magical outcome. "Incontinence makes you weak," therefore you fall. Abstinence makes you strong.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," p. 531.

[3] That is were she to entertain their *shalako* they would work for her.

taboos whose violation is followed by disaster to the child.[1] If the proper term of confinement is not observed by a woman she will grow thin and die. The family buying or selling a child, it is believed, will become extinct. If a man or woman remarry too soon, within the Zuñi year of six months or so, the stomach will swell up and burst. There are, as has been noted, conventional ways of joining a fraternity. Should an informal wish to join a fraternity be expressed, "something would happen." Unless a convalescent is given to the curing fraternity or to the household of its medicineman, he will die. When a medicineman "cuts the meat," *i. e.*, flesh of a patient, if continence is not strictly observed until every sign of the operation has disappeared, the patient will die. I know of one case in particular where the patient was operated on by a *newekwe* practitioner to reduce swelling. The swelling went down, but after a time she was again swollen up. "You must have had intercourse," said the medicineman. He reduced the swelling again, saying, "You must try to help yourself." Again she was incontinent, and this time she died. So persuaded are her people that her death was due to intercourse that they hold her husband responsible and shun him. Yet another case of a sick woman dying after intercourse came to my ears.—So much for automatic magical sanctions, although those I have referred to are no doubt a mere fragment of the number still to be ascertained.

Removal from office is a common sanction to proper behavior in office. In 1912 the *tenientes* were removed or changed because a *shiwanni* had been jailed by the Whites. Two or three years later the succeeding *tenientes* were threatened with removal for a like failure to protect a priest against the alien administrator. Steven-

[1] See Parsons, E. C. "Zuñi Conception and Pregnancy Beliefs." *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 382–3 (Washington 1917).

To the beliefs there recorded I would add one which I have noted and which Stevenson has noted, the belief that the sight of the small eyes of the *koko lanna* mask of *matke lanna* will cause small eyes in the child.

Some of these pregnancy beliefs are to be considered *ex post facto* explanations of trouble rather than as sanctions for taboos. Other beliefs in regard to disaster have no doubt received a like emphasis. The fall of the roof beam of one of the new *shalako* houses in 1915 was explained as due to the fact that the house had not been built properly, *i. e.*, no turquoise had been ceremonially placed in its foundations. At the time when the house was built and the ceremony omitted it is not certain that the omission was explicitly criticised as potential of accident.

son tells of a governor who was removed on charges in 1891.[1] Lapses in ceremonial continence or in ceremonial propriety in general also subject official incumbents to removal.[2] In 1915 one of the *koyemshi* was induced to go to Gallup by his Laguna wife at a time when he should have been engaged in planting his periodic *shalako* feather-sticks. He was removed.[3] The self-confessed witch of the last measles epidemic, a member of the *shumakwe* fraternity was expelled from his fraternity and from membership among the *shuma'kwe shiwanni*.[4] Stevenson refers to the case of a *pekwĭn* dismissed from office because of a failure of the crops which was imputed to his "bad heart."[5] As we have noted[6] the personator of *sayatasha* and the *salymobia* and *shalako* personators may be removed for misbehavior.

Ceremonial remissness by sacred personators[7] may subject them not to removal but to whipping by *sayaŀian* or *salymobia*. If a *shalako* falls during his ceremonial running on the field of *makyaaonakwatone* the *salymobia* on the field will cross the river and whip all he meets. This performance is referred to explicitly as *shuwaha*, purifying.[8] The next day the *shalako* personator will be

[1] "Zuñi Indians," p. 290.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 108, 234, 393, 395, 577. Among the Keres, according to Bandelier, deposition was followed by death. "Final Report," pt. 1, p. 284.

[3] After his removal there was a drought and in much dismay they went after him to Gallup and reinstated him. This man was the son of the *kiakwemosi ŀashi*. There was gossip that the latter had been removed from office too. If so, he too was reinstated, for it was in his house as *kiakwemosi ŀashi* that the installation of *ŀapup* and *sipaloa shiwanni* was held in 1917. Dr. Kroeber states that Tsa'tsana was removed in 1915, but only from the headship of his priesthood. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 169.

[4] To get rid of the bow priests, he had confessed that he had used his fraternity medicines to bewitch. It was probably for this reason he was expelled. In two or three other cases a "witch" does not seem to have suffered expulsion from his fraternity. For example, neither Philip or Nick, each a member of *matke ŀanna* fraternity, was expelled after the witchcraft proceedings against him.

[5] "Zuñi Indians," pp. 108, 166.

[6] See p. 250, n. 2.

[7] Impersonation, it is always said, is wholly voluntary—except that every man until he is old is expected to dance once a year. What sanction may attach to this requirement I do not know, nor whether any supernatural good or advantage accrues to personators. I have been told men dance only because they are supposed to.

[8] It has been frequently denied to me that the fall of a *shalako* betokens communal disaster. But in the ensuing public whipping fear of disaster is implicit. The connection is probably not clear in the minds of my informants.

whipped nude by the *sayalian*. Purification by whipping for any ceremonial misadventure seems to be in order with *sayalian* for the whippers. (Personators for the *sayalian* will be selected by the *komosona* and "brought in," *i. e.*, gathered by the *kopekwĭn*.) For example, were a woman to go into a *kiwitsine* or into a ceremonial room during a ceremonial she would have to be whipped. After nightmare, in the case of women, whipping by the *sayalian*, by four of them, is resorted to. This circumstance, is said to be the condition for taking women into the *kotikili*. The woman whipped would be taken into the *kiwitsine* which was in charge of the dance on at the time. "Whose child is this to be?" the *kiwitsine* director would ask. And then some member of the *kiwitsine* would volunteer[1] to become her ceremonial father. (Fraternities may also manage the purificatory whipping for nightmare and in that case the purified one is of course taken into the fraternity.)

The following case in connection with whipping for ceremonial misadventure is probably typical. This year at *itiwonna* when *shitsuki* was sent after an absentee, neighbors saw *shitsuki* passing and, thinking he was on his ceremonial circuit when coals are to be thrown out, they proceeded to throw out their coals. For this error they had to be whipped by *sayalian*, otherwise their crops would dry up. In the ceremonial rabbit hunt a runner missing a rabbit would be struck four times, a stroke on each arm and leg, by the *salymobia*. A *salymobia* losing a rabbit would be similarly struck by any man in the hunt. General or promiscuous whipping is a purificatory function of the *salymobia*.[2]

There are other general rites of purification in Zuñi ceremonialism. The ceremonial circuits made during the last night of the sacred *teshkwi* period of *itiwonna* and the four days following have purificatory significance. Between 3 and 4 a.m. of the last night of *teshkwi, shitsuki* and *kwelele* go round. Later *cha'kwena okyia* and *salymobia* go round. During the three successive days the *salymobia* and the *lelele* go round. The rite the women perform

[1] I have also been told that the nightmare sufferer or her people would invite someone to become ceremonial father.

[2] See pp. 156, 178, 201.

in connection with the circuit of the *cha'kwena*, the rite of passing coals along the house walls and throwing them out after she has passed by the house, is explicitly referred to as *shuwaha*, cleaning. The coals thrown out on the *lelele* and after the passing of *shitsuki* are purificatory.

awek shuwahana,[1] ground cleaning is the name given to the purificatory rite performed at the close of the no longer danced *owinahaiye*. (I have also heard of the *awek shuwahana* in connection with the *watempla*, and it may be an independent purificatory rite.) Everybody waved a piece of bark in the left hand four times around the head, spit on it, and threw it down on the ground. The rite was to purify from the "bad killing influences" associated with this dance, a bow priest or war dance. During the *kotikili* initiation, as we have noted, a person will spit into a jar which is to be thrown down from the roof, after he has waved meal four times around his head and sprinkled it on the spittle, likewise persons whipped by the *salymobia* will wave meal four times around and throw it on the ground.

Instances of waving something four times about the head[2] in what appears to be a purificatory sense I have noted in other connections.[3] When the cord of a new-born infant runs it is because some victim of snake bite has been in the room. That person must be found and must wave some ashes four times about the heads of mother and child. Objects cast away ceremonially by the remarrying may be picked up if they are first kicked four times and then have a bit of cedar bark waved over them four times.[4] I have noted elsewhere other death rites of purification—burning a lock of hair of the deceased for any one who has been "frightened" by the death to inhale, inhaling piñon gum if a survivor dream of or pine for the deceased or if one who has touched the corpse feel unwell within a day or two afterwards.[5] The heads of the members of the households of both the father's people and the mother's people are washed four days after the death.

[1] The same term is used for taking a spot out of cloth.

[2] The waving is always clockwise.

[3] See Cushing in *Century*, III (N.S.), p. 504.

[4] "A Few Zuñi Death Beliefs and Practices," p. 247.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 254.

Manners

On meeting after a considerable absence, absence perhaps in another town, kindred or intimates will embrace (*iteshku*), one arm over the shoulder of the other, one arm under. After a man has been out all day, hunting or fetching wood, on his return home his wife is expected to go out to meet him[1] and say, *keshi* or *kesh to' ia*, "Have you come?" *eh*, "Yes," rejoins the man. Were his wife not to appear outdoors, he would think something was the matter and were he to find her merely indifferent indoors, going about her affairs, he would at once suspect she had been with another man. Even if she came out, but not soon enough, he might be annoyed into not speaking to her. Meeting a friend in the street you might stop and shake hands with him, saying *hom kuwaie*, "My friend." Between acquaintances, the conventional outdoor greeting is an interrogation, as it were, on what you are engaged in. *ia?* "Are you coming?" *anne?* "Are you going?" *eh*, you rejoin. Or perhaps it is a more direct question, "Where are you going?" "I am going to the dance," you answer, let us say, or any place you might obviously be directed for; your actual goal there is no need to specify. The person bound out from town will speak first to the person coming in. It is a matter of indifference whether a man greets first or a woman; but in stopping to speak it would be the woman who would take the initiative.[2] In address anywhere it is the woman who is supposed to make the first move. Neither in this matter of greeting nor in any other particular have I observed or heard of any rule of precedence through age. Kinship terms used as age-class terms are, as we have noted, courtesy terms. The common rite of exchanging terms of relationship is probably to be explained from this point of view. Of interest is the fact that in non-ceremonial smoking a man on getting a light

[1] See p. 304.

[2] See p. 308. But at the conventional twilight hour of courtship men also speak first. See p. 293.

from another will say, *tachimo* or *papamo*, the other reciprocating, *talemo* or *suwemo*.

On going to a house either you open the door and wait for those inside to say, *kwato*, "Come in," to which you rejoin, *ia*, "I am coming," they then saying, *imu* or *im*, "Sit," or *tosh ikia imu*, "You come, sit." Or if you are more intimate you walk in without a word and sit down. In the house of a *shiwanni* or *teniente* you say, *konatotewannanteae*, "How do you live?" to which the rejoinder is, *ketsanishi*, "Happy." [1] If you are merely delivering a summons you stand at the door saying, *she*. Those inside say, *ha?* "What?" "Go to the house of the *tapup*," perhaps you say, or to the *kiwitsine*. *łałokoanno*, "I will go," is the usual rejoinder. You do not ask why you are summoned, nor is the reason ever volunteered. Whether you mean to go or not, you say you will go. Similarly a person will say he is going to do such and such a thing without any intention of doing it. "Do you mean it?" he may be asked.

The expressions *she* and *ha* are used on other more or less formal occasions. Before a *kiwitsine* dance (ceremonial) two members of the *kiwitsine* visit the houses of the other members, asking at each house for a stick of wood. On arriving they say *she*. Early on the morning of the advent of the *shalako*, *tsupala ilona* makes a round of domiciliary visits. *she*, he says. *ha?*[2] "Give me a stick of wood." After receiving it, he says, "May you have good crops the coming year." And he drops two or three grains of corn around the door. Good wishes or, as we would say, a blessing, may be made or invoked, we noted,[3] by a visitor to a *shiwanni*.

Whatever your mission or business you do not present it after you have entered the house until those inside ask you why you have come. The formula is *kopto ikwe?*[4] "What do you say?" or, less commonly, *hunkwate kohol* (may be) *to'* (you) *ikwe* (say). If they do not say this, you may say, *koplate kwa hom to' aiełamekia*, "Why don't you ask me why I came?" or, *hom aiełа*, "Ask me."

[1] See pp. 303, 304, 317, 318, 320.

[2] Judging from the usage in the tales, *she*, *ha* appear to have been in general the habitual expressions on arrival, expressions preserved today in ceremonial occasions.

[3] See p. 275, no. 2.

[4] See pp. 302, 303, 323.

At Zuñi, as among other Indians, this management of meetings is very different from ours, but, although it is a difference felt at once, it is difficult to describe. The psychological attitudes are more different than a mere statement of the differences of etiquette suggests. To the Zuñi, the visitor is an intruder, and not being a member of the household, he must slip in unobtrusively and upset the ways of the household as little as possible. The visitor does not make known his wants. He waits the pleasure of the household.

But the people of the house will not keep him waiting long. They soon ask him why he has come. If he is a traveler, some one from another Pueblo, a Navajo or even a White who is acceptable, his wants will be taken for granted and attended to more or less promptly. A meal will be laid out for him[1] by the women of the household and at night a pallet made for him. Whether foreigner or fellow-townsman he would not be turned away, and he may prolong his visit indefinitely.

During *shalako* a hundred or more Navajo come in to Zuñi and quarter themselves on various households. Some of them have "connections" of a sort with the respective households. In one case I knew of, the old woman in the visiting Navajo family was the mother of the deceased first husband of her Zuñi hostess. The man had been dead for forty or forty-five years, but ever since, no doubt at every *shalako*, Navajo have stayed in this household. In another case, the visiting Navajo had been a schoolmate of the host. In this household a Zuñi clansman who had married at Acoma was another *shalako* visitor. He had with him his daughter by his Acoma wife. Outside of such connections, however, *shalako* visitors betake themselves to whatever households they like. The same guests are apt to return year after year to the same household, establishing in the White man's terms a kind of squatter's right.

Fellow-townsmen, kindred or non-kindred, will be put up at a Zuñi house. Whenever there is a quarrel in a household some one or other will likely as not go off to stay in another household. The household chosen is apt to be, of course, that of a kinswoman; but one hears of special cases where hospitality is asked and given by

[1] In the tales not until after this meal will *kopto ikwe?* be asked of him.

unrelated persons. I know of two women, one a foreigner of mixed blood, one a Laguna, who lived for a year or more in unrelated households. The mixed blood had found some of the ways of her Zuñi parents-in-law trying,[1] so she asked for a room in the house of an acquaintance. It was given and there she kept house for her husband and little children. To her "landlady" she paid nothing, nor was she expected to pay. Several months ago a Laguna woman, on separating from her husband left the house of her parents-in-law and with her new-born infant (probably not the child of her husband) found shelter under the roof of the priestly associate of her father-in-law. There she still lives. There is a feeling, I surmise, in the Zuñi mind that if you turned away a guest "something would happen."

For a traveler guest a meal would be set out at any hour. If he arrived about the time for a household meal either he would be invited to join the household circle or, had he one or more traveling companions, the travelers would be served first. Any one who happens to be in the house at meal time, breakfast, dinner or supper, will be invited to join the circle sitting on low boxes[2] around the coffee pot, the bowl of stew and the plates or baskets of bread on the floor. "Eat," will be said to the guest. He will be expected to withdraw from the circle and stand, before the others, and plainly to eat less than he would at home. He will say, *ellakwa*, "Thanks" to which the rejoinder is, *ellitu*, "Eat much." *ellakwa* is not said even by non-members of the household when the meal, so to speak, has been earned, worked for; when the household feeds, for example, kinspeople helping them to get in a harvest or to thresh. *ellakwa* is said for any other gift besides food, or for a loan. Let us suppose a man is returning the beads or blanket he has borrowed for a ceremony.[3] *ellakwa to' molatu to' miatu*, says he, "Thanks, you plenty melons, you plenty corn." In the tales *ellakwa* is used much as the corresponding term *askwali*[4] among the

[1] It was the continuous and indiscriminate feeding of her seven months old baby that she finally rebelled against.

[2] Before the use of stools the correct posture was kneeling on the right knee.

[3] Such articles may be borrowed even from those you are not by the way of visiting. You would never be refused.

[4] Woman's term. Men say *kwakwai*.

Hopi to express gratification in general. "*ellakwa* that you have staid," or "*ellakwa* that you will marry," people would say.

As to meal manners in general there seem to be none, *i. e.*, there seems to be no etiquette. It is a case of "the best manners are no manners." There is no grabbing and no show of greediness. Everyone helps himself except, of course, the very little children who are fed or given special bits by the others. Marked attention will be paid to a baby at meal times as at other times. There is much conversation around the circle and often considerable gaiety. "Cheerful family meals" are a feature of Pueblo life. After a meal or at any other time a guest will say on departing, *soanne*, "I am going," or, if he is an intimate, he will go out without saying anything. In the house of a priest or *teniente* a more formal farewell is the rule. Here to *soanne* the rejoinder is *soanne to'o* (you) *yato* (sun) *kokshi* (good) *sunakyinaptu* (going down). A guest or an intimate who is leaving town will shake hands when he says *soanne. maklu*, "Go," is the rejoinder to be followed by *to' ketsani imutu*, "You (be) happy staying;" *to' ketsani atu* "you (be) happy going." [1]

Shaking hands is a Zuñi practice.[2] Kissing, except under special circumstances, is not. Mothers will kiss their little children, and during intercourse and only then men and women kiss. Conjugal endearments are restricted. Only after the light is out and the other members of the household have gone to sleep are acts of intimacy permissible. All the household sleep as a rule in the same room, the married sleeping side by side, sometimes under the same covers. Their children sleep near them. Members of the household are apt to go to sleep at different hours and no particular consideration is given sleepers. People may stay up talking late into the night. Whatever the temperature, men take off all their clothes except their breechcloth on going to sleep for the night; the women leave on their cotton slip.

Although there is the same living room for all, considerable

[1] See p. 305.

[2] This adoptive practice was the more readily acculturated, I infer, because of the custom of exchanging breaths (*yĕchuni*) by breathing on or from the hand. See p. 275 n. 2, and Cushing in *Century*, III (N.S.), pp. 192, 193, 199; "Zuñi Creation Myths," pp. 433, 434; Fewkes, *Journal of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. I, p. 23, n. 2.

personal privacy is secured by the fact that nobody notices. Everybody dresses or undresses, for example, without attracting attention. There is no more attention given to such acts than a cat would give another cat washing her face. All defecate or urinate anywhere out of doors. The person is never exposed but there is little or no attempt otherwise to conceal the act. Passers-by merely pay no attention. Were they to be addressed, however, by persons engaged in relieving themselves they would respond with no sense whatsoever of embarrassment. A woman sitting under her blanket near the river bank or in an open place near the road would feel quite free to speak to a male relative or friend as he passed near her. Spitting is indulged in anywhere, outdoors or in. The fireplace is a favored place, but any part of the floor will serve. My hostess in Zuñi possesses a spittoon and I have at times put it down near my Zuñi visitors. They very civilly gratify my whim, as one more American oddity. Sneezing is taken as a sign some one is talking about you.[1] When you sneeze you say, *nomilte*, "I believe so." In regard to the menstrual function there seems to be neither secrecy nor notice. A woman will refer to the condition directly and simply if there is any need.

Women seldom go out without their shawl or blanket. They are even more particular about wearing out of doors their *pitone*, the square of cloth or silk which tied in front hangs across their shoulders and back. Without it, they say, they would feel naked and any man might speak to them without respect. But girls wearing their *pitone* I have seen spoken to rather brusquely on their twilight trips to the well. Thus addressed a girl may linger for a moment or two or she may persist on her beat. It depends, I suppose, upon whether or not she welcomes this twilight overture of courtship. With her water jar on her head and her women companions in front and behind much responsiveness is hardly to be expected.

Girls as old as sixteen or eighteen I have seen scamper to a sheltering house at the approach of the *atoshle*, otherwise I have still to see a Zuñi woman run or even accelerate their slow and

[1] *Cf.* Nuttall, Zelia, "Ancient Mexican Superstitions," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, X (1897), p. 272.

heavy-footed gait. But as far as I know there is no rule against running or walking fast. They just don't do it.

Similarly there seem to be no rules against shouting or talking loud, but people do not raise their voice. To a child talking loud a person might say, "I am not deaf." Children are unusually free to interrupt the talk of their elders. The elders themselves constantly interrupt one another. Zuñi are, I would say, peculiarly bad listeners and, except on public or quasi-public occasions,[1] anyone seems free to interrupt, whatever the sex of the speaker, the age or the position. I once heard an informal but public debate between the *tapup*, a *teniente*, and a Navajo chief on resuming relations of barter between the Navajo and the Zuñi. The Navajo and the *teniente* happened to be on horseback, and the *tapup* on foot, those in the circle around them being partly on foot, partly on horseback. (The incident took place after the race after the outgoing *shalako*.) There was some warmth in the discussion but there was little or no interruption. At private meetings of the *tenientes* too and I presume of the other organizations each is let have his say out. At a meeting of *tenientes* the *teniente tsanna* will begin by saying, "Let us hear what is to be said." But without such a compelling formula, so to speak, no one is sure of attention.

People also feel free to ask personal questions, no matter how direct or intimate. A mere acquaintance might ask a pregnant woman whose child she was carrying. A man known to have left his wife and to be living with another woman would be questioned about it.

Zuñi are, as we would say, great gossips, not to say scandal mongers. Against political enemies I have heard charges made of witchcraft or incest, the most heinous of charges, quite up to the standard Whites may set in like circumstances. The daughter of one of the *akiakwemosi* was removed from the school at Black Rock because she was pregnant—thanks to her father, I was told. She was his own daughter and her mother was still living with her father. Such a tale is on the face of it fictitious, for were this incestuous act to occur, an act far more unlikely in a Zuñi than in a

[1] But see pp. 273, 274.

White, who would discover or reveal it? Talk of this kind goes on of course only behind a person's back. I would not say that frankly abusive speech never occurred, but one gets the impression that at any rate it occurs but seldom and that people are extremely careful in what they say directly to each other. One man I know has a reputation for outspokenness, but even he, after telling some of his fraternity members on one occasion "what he thought of them," proceeded to join another fraternity. I heard of another defection from the same fraternity, the *matke łannakwe*, by a man and two women, his mother and sister, because of a quarrel with a fellow member over a field.

Ridicule of personal defects is indulged in, I am told, to a large extent, particularly among the children. I have noted[1] how a company of people showed amusement at an indoor dance over the *łamana* who is accounted a simpleton. The worst thing you could call another would be "witch." A woman might call another *ihanłikia*, "stealer," a term applied to adultery.[2] I doubt however if "calling names" prevail to any extent among adults.

Calling people by name is uncommon, kinship terms or teknonymous or age-class terms being substituted. Mentioning the dead by name would be considered offensive. Nor would an outsider refer to the dead at all. Inside the household a deceased member will be referred to for a year or two as *hoałkonon*, the person who has gone away. In case of two deaths the usual kinship term would be used in referring to the one who died first.

[1] See "The Zuñi *łamana*," p. 528.

[2] An illegitimate is called *ihanłinashkia* (stealing made), the right to make the child being stolen. It is the man who is said to make the child. Incidentally I note there is no term for unmarried persons having intercourse.

Time-Keeping

Zuñi expressions for division of day (*tewa*) and night (*telina*) are:

Sunrise	= *yatokwa͡ii* (*yatok*, sun, *kwa͡ii*, come out)
	yatokwa͡iekia
	tekohapi (*tekoha*, light white)
Early morning	= *chamle*
Noon	= *itiwa* (middle)
	itiwakia
	itiwopa (past tense)
Early afternoon	= *yasellakia* (across)
Late afternoon	= *yatopiaha* (sun falling)
Before sunset	= *yatokim* (sun sitting)
	yatuṇkwato
Sunset	= *yatuṇkwatokia*
	yatonkwatonihop
	sunopa
Twilight	= *teluptsinaye* (*luptsin*, yellow)
Early evening	= *teluptsinaokia* (yellow lost)
Early night	= *tekwitikia* (dark)
Late at night	= *ishtenala͡ikia*
Midnight	= *telinawitiwakia*
About 2 or 3 a.m.	= *telinapikeekia*
Before dawn	= *tekohatinalotekia* (light, near)
Dawn	= *luptsinaikeatokia* (yellow, come up)
	awek etsakatikia (ground to be seen)

For the division of the lunar month into ten day periods as noted by Stevenson[1] I was unable to find any evidence beyond the fact that the *pekwĭn* keeps a record of days by decades by stick notching.[2] Each tenth day has a longer mark. The seven day week appears to be unadopted, although Sunday and Saturday are named *dumingu tewa* and *dumingu an chuye* (the before).

[1] "Zuñi Indians," p. 108; Webster, H. *Rest Days*, (New York, 1916), p. 190, n. 6.

[2] *Cf.* Cushing in *Century*, IV (N.S.), p. 39.

Since the American stores are closed at present on Sunday and the children are home from school, notice of the seven day week is being forced on people's attention.[1]

As for American time-keeping in the smaller divisions of time, except by a few possessors of American watches, it is completely ignored. There are a few store-bought clocks in Zuñi, but their function may be fairly described as ornamental. How little any other need for them is yet felt I realized one day in discussing the subject of Zuñi meal-time with the proprietress of a clock. When the people ate only two meals a day, she said, breakfast and supper, they had no need of clocks. It was only when they learned from the Americans to eat a midday meal that they had to know the time. In this woman's mind the American meal and the American way of timing it were closely associated. An American habit was to be established in an American way. As a matter of fact the habit of eating together at midday must have been established along the usual Zuñi line, the line of gregarious routine.

If you all sleep in the same room, you all wake up about the same time; if you plant or hoe or harvest or thrash together in a group in the same field or circle, you all go to work and leave off work at the same time, going to eat the midday meal, by the way, at the house of the family you are helping at the same time the members of the family go; if in getting ready for a dance, you all make up together in the same "green room" to do your turn together, there is no need of a stage caller, particularly as your spectators sit together in unruffled patience[2] until you appear. In other words, if the gregarious impulse is as strong as it still is in Zuñi, the need of keeping the time is remarkably unpressing. We sometimes fail to appreciate, I believe, how much a function of individualism time-keeping is, *i. e.*, of a social type of individualism. The hermit of course has no more need of knowing the exact time than the highly gregarious. It is the coöperating individual who feels the need.

[1] See p. 175.

[2] That patience is a primitive trait—a trait connected, apparently, with gregariousness—is a conclusion soon made by the observer of ceremonialism. How far from its sacerdotal origins the modern stage has traveled is as notable perhaps in the catcalls or stampings of an impatient audience as in any other particular.

Even as a coöperative factor the group appears less dependent upon knowing the time than the individual. For example, in making their rounds at the *shalako* houses the different sets of dancers merely wait their turn if they arrive at a house when its limited floor space is occupied. Similarly the complex rites in this ceremonial are performed, not at set times, but in sequence, the close of one part or the exit of one group of sacred personages being a signal for the arrival of another. Sometimes the signal is the mere sequence, sometimes it appears more specific. For example, when the *shalako* personators and the people in the houses of their retreat see the fires lit south of the village by *shulawitsi* and his group, they know it is time for their rite to begin.

Initiatory signals are necessary to group action in Zuñi as elsewhere. The sending of clan messengers has been noted[1] and the service as heralds of the priests and of the *koko*. The *teniente tsanna* announces from a house-top set times for communal action and from the roof of *heiwa kiwitsine* the *pekwĭn* announces the winter and the summer solstices.

For eight days after taking the solar observation in connection with *towa yalene* the *pekwĭn* makes a retreat, on the ninth morning announcing that in ten days *itiwonna* will begin. This at least is the old rule. The *pekwĭn* who died in the spring of 1915 prolonged his retreat to sixteen days,—planting his feather-sticks on the ninth day, he went into another eight-day retreat. I was in Zuñi this year (1915) when the eight-days having expired (December 14), the morning came for the new *pekwĭn* to announce. He did not however announce on that morning as Tsawele had told him to follow the rule of his predecessor. The younger brother bow priest and the *ashiwanni* then went to him and told him that they wished to follow the old rule and that they would back him up against Tsawele. Consequently, on December 16, he did announce the advent of the winter solstice in ten days.

This hierarchical disagreement was a means of disclosing a bit of sacerdotal history with a bearing upon the Zuñi calendar. The deceased *pekwĭn* had been subject to much criticism—he had failed

[1] Pp. 205, 206.

to observe his continence taboos[1] and he had been prone to American innovation.[2] His predecessor on the other hand is referred to as the *pekwĭn kokshi* (good). This complimentary epithet is given him, however, not by comparison with his successor but with certain predecessors under whom Zuñi had not prospered.[3] The *pekwĭn kokshi* was under the rule (*haĭtoshnawe*) of the *paltok* (end) *ettone.* So is the present *pekwĭn*, whereas the deceased *pekwĭn* was under the *haĭtoshnawe* of the *kiakwemosi.*[4] Theirs is a witch rule. The *pekwĭn*, it appears, may choose his *haĭtoshnawe;* but under the *paltok ettone* his moons will be good; under the *kiakwemosi ettone* his moons will be bad,[5] there will not be much rain, the corn and the wheat will not ripen.[6]

[1] See p. 238.

[2] For one thing he had tried to go by the American calendar—only to become "mixed up" and have his moons bad. A stone record he kept at *matsakia* (see "Zuñi Indians," p. 118), was an American idea. An analogous record kept by the *apilashiwanni* was suggested by Cushing, I was told, when he was a member of the bow priesthood. Keeping time records on stones is not a Zuñi custom, I was assured. If this is so, the provenience in these cases is more likely to be Navajo than white American. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 59.

In proof that the deceased *pekwĭn* had innovated along American lines in deferring the winter solstice ceremonial my copy of "Zuñi Indians" was borrowed. The deceased *pekwĭn* was accounted a particular friend of Mrs. Stevenson, likewise the present director of the bow priests, and it was pointed out that Mrs. Stevenson described the retreat as lasting not eight but sixteen days. See "Zuñi Indians," p. 109.

Since writing the above I have learned that the stone record, a record of *tepikwaiipa* from summer solstice to summer solstice, is being kept up by the present *pekwĭn.*

[3] *Cf.* "Zuñi Indians," p. 108.

[4] The origin myth in connection with this classification points to the traditional mingling together of two or more peoples—the *paltok ettone* people of the south, where it is summer always, a people who were always above the earth, with peoples who came up through the earth, people having an *atowa* (all corn) *ettone*, people of the *kiakwemosi*, and still other peoples. Their *haĭtoshnawe* were not the same. They would try out one another with their *ettowe*. The *paltokwe* knew more than the others. They even told the others their proper clans—leaving a record of it at *hanlipinka*. The ravine there was the outcome of one of their trials of power. "We will see now," had said the *akiakwemosi* people, "who can make it rain the most." So they cut their feather-sticks and were in four days and nights. It rained only a little. Then the *paltok ettone* people cut their feather-sticks and were in four days and nights. It rained in torrents and when it stopped there was the ravine of *hanlipinka*.

[5] This is, of course, an *ex parte* assertion. It was made by an old man in the *newekwe* fraternity, a *tonashikwe* clansman. It is notable, however, that the rain fetich is in charge of the *paltok* priesthood. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 169.

[6] However it once was, today the priests have no say in determining the planting season. "When a person has good crops, he will plant again at the same time."

The Zuñi year is reckoned today at least from solstice to solstice (*tepikwa͡iipa*), although there seems to be a general idea that it might just as well be reckoned from *itiwonna* to *itiwonna* or from corn ripe to corn ripe. From winter to summer solstice or from summer to winter solstice is *telakwa͡iipa* and one aged informant insisted that the *telakwa͡iipa* and not the *tepikwa͡iipa* was the year period. He also was in the habit of computing past periods in *telakwaiipa*.[1] For example, when I asked him how long ago he was initiated into his fraternity he answered, "About one hundred *telakwa͡iipa*." The fact that there are names for only six lunar months and not for twelve or thirteen suggests too that the shorter period was the prevalent division. I got the same terms for the lunations Stevenson gives,[2] the only difference being that the "wind" month was translated "sand storm" month. For the six warm months the term *o'loke* is used, and for the autumn and winter, *miałashi* (corn old) and *tetsina* (*tetsi*, cold).

The fact that in spite of discrepancy between lunar and solar calendar there are terms in Zuñi for only twelve lunations is somewhat puzzling. My hypothesis is that the nomenclature for the months is a latter day attempt to consider the foreign calendar. The original system is that which may be inferred from the *shalako* plantings and the reckonings of the *koha͡iito*, and of *itiwonna*. There are including this first planting ten full moon *shalako* plantings. On the tenth and last begins the *koha͡iito*, a forty-nine day period punctuated by plantings every ten days irrespective of lunation. The period between the last day of the *koha͡iito*, when the *shalako* come in, and the determination by the *pekwĭn* of the winter solstice is also unconcerned with lunation. The fact that the moon periods between the tenth *shalako* planting and the full moon before *itiwonna* are unobserved may be indicated by the term given to the so-called November moon—*kwashiame* "not nothing."[3]

[1] *luktelakwena* is an expression for "this year." *Cf.* p 307, n. 14.

[2] "Zuñi Indians," p. 108.

[3] The two periods referred to as *kwashiame*, *i. e.*, the fifth *shalako* planting, April–May, and the period after the tenth planting and to *shalako*, October–November, are so-called, I surmise, from the absence of the *koko* or the lack of dances.

At any rate because of the gap in observing lunation[1] produced by the *kohaiito*, the discrepancy between their lunar months and the foreign calendar months are not noticed by the Zuñi.

For the lunar month there are the following divisions:

new moon, *yachun yaani*
yachun imun (*imukya*)
half moon, *yachun ipachinaye*
full moon, *yachun yaikya* (finished)
waning moon, *yachun ipachik*
yachun tena (going)
dark period, *yachun tenkya* (gone)
yachun yatokianiha (back over)

Terms for the position of the moon in the sky are:

moon rise, *yachun* or *yauna* (full moon) *kwaii*
moon well up, *yachun* or *yauna ime*
moon in zenith, *yachun itiwak*

"Yesterday" is in Zuñi *techukwa* (*te* > *tewa*, *chu*, before). "Tomorrow" is *tewani*, *kwile* (two) *tewana*, or *hai* (three) *tewana*, or *awiten* (four) *tewana* are used to mean two, three, or four days ago or days hence, according to their context. *tewani yatokwaiipa*, "Tomorrow, when the sun comes up," is a common expression. Another is: *won kole yatokkwaii* (Wait, how, sun-comes-out), *i. e.*, wait and see what tomorrow brings forth. "Daily" is *konayatowe*. For duration of time there are these expressions: *yatoneli*, all day; *telinaeli*, all night; *tenalaike*, quite a while (say one hour); *koytenalaike*, a short while; *hish ashi* (much) *tenalaike* (say two or three hours); *hish kakolio*, long since; *inote*, long since. *inote* is always the formula word used in beginning a tale.

Since writing the above I incline to think that the whole *shalako* calendar may be a latter day reckoning. See Fewkes, J. W., "Tusayan Katcinas," *Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology* (1893–4), p. 258; Russell, F., "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology* (1905), p. 36. But the argument must be reserved for further evidence.

[1] To be sure lunation is observed during this period by fraternities. "What if the new moon is obscured?" I once asked. "The fraternity directors keep count in their heads." I have not learned of tally stick calendars. See Cushing, F. H., "Manual Concepts," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 5 (1892), p. 300.

Tales (*telapnawe*)[1]

I

inote (long ago) at *kołuwela* lived the *aiu tsauwaki* (young man). At *kapkwen* (Ojo Caliente) lived a girl a man went to whom she would not have [marry]. At *kechipan* lived a young man. He said to his father and his mother, "I want to have a girl who lives in *kapkwen*. His father said, "You may try, maybe she will have you." The young man took for the girl moccasins (*mokwa*) and blanket shawl (*eha*) and blanket dress (*yatonane*, across) and belt (*ehinin*). He took *pitsemua* (cotton fibre)[2] and turkey feathers and feathers of birds. He took the feathers because her father was a *shiwanni*. He wrapped them up. At night he put the things on his back[3] and went to the girl's house. He said, "*she*." The people of the house (*kiakwenona*) said, "*ha* (What)?" The young man opened the door. He said, "Take down." He put his things on the ladder. The people in the house took them. They put them in the middle of the room. Then the young man went in. The people of the house said to the young man, "*kesh to' ia* (Have you come)?" The young man said, "*eh* (Yes)." The people of the house said, "*imu* (Sit down)." The girl's mother said to the girl, "You must give him something to eat." The girl put some deer meat into a bowl and some *hewe*. The young man ate. He finished eating. When he had finished, the father asked, "*kopto ikwe* (What do you say)?" The young man said, "I want to have your girl (*ellashtoki*). That is why I come." Her father and mother (*an tachu an tsitakwe*) said to the girl, "What do you say?" She said, "I want to have him." The father said to his daughter, "Go to sleep, the young man is tired." So they went into the other room. The girl made [pallet understood]. The girl asked the young man what he had brought. The young man said, "I brought you moccasins and *eha*, and *yatonne*, and a belt and some turkey feathers and some bird feathers and a piece of cotton. This is all I bring. The feathers are for your father."[4] The

girl said, "*hai*[5] (Is that so)! I don't want those things. The man I want is a man who kills deer." He said, "*ma hunkwate* (Well, may be so) I will go home." So the young man took his things, put them on his back and went home that night to *kechipan.*

At *koluwela aiu tsauwaki* heard the news. *aiu tsauwaki* lived with his *hota* (mother's mother). He said to his *hota*, "*hota.*" His *hota* said, "What?" *aiu tsauwaki* said, "I want to go to *kapkwen* to have the *shiwanni ellashtoki.* The *hota* said to her *nana* (grandson), "All right, you may go." When the sun rose (*yatokwa͡iipa*) his *hota* gave him some *hewe.* He came to *kapkwena* when the sun set (*yatuṇkwatopa*). *aiu tsauwaki* came to the *shiwanni* house. He said, "*aiu! aiu! aiu!*" at the ladder. He stamped his foot. He had on *ketoma* (dance moccasins), *kepchiella* (deer leggings), *pilanne* (dance skirt) and a *takunikwin* (dance belt). *lapapoanne* (macaw feathers) were in his hair and a bow and arrow over his forehead. He had a *hokitasha* (cougar) skin quiver, a bow in his right hand, an arrow in his left.[6] He went up the ladder to the roof. He danced. The girl's mother said, "Somebody is coming." He danced a little and he went down the ladder into the house. He said, "*konatotewannanteae* (how do you live)?" The father said," *ketsanishi* (happy)." The mother said," *imu, kesh to' ia?*" They set out a seat. *aiu tsauwaki* sat down. "You must give him something to eat," the father said to the girl. The girl put some meat in a bowl, took some *hewe*, placed it all on the ground. *aiu tsauwaki* took his *kaiuhewe*[7] and said to the father and mother, "Here is some *hewe.* You may eat this." The girl unwrapped the *hewe.* She said, "The *hewe* smells sweet." The girl bit a piece. It tasted good. The girl said to her mother, "Taste it. It tastes good." They tasted. They said, "It tastes good." They placed it on the ground and began to eat with *aiu tsauwaki.* They ate all together. They finished eating. The girl's mother said, "*kopto ikwea?*" *aiu tsauwaki* said, "I want to have your girl." The mother said to the girl, "Do you want this man to have you?" The girl said, "Yes." The mother said, "You must go to rest. Maybe he is tired." The girl took the man into the other room. The girl made the pallet. *aiu tsauwaki* asked

the girl, "What do you want? A man came but you did not marry him." The girl said, "I want a man to kill me a stag (*mawotsi* > *mawi*, deer, *otsi*, male)." *aiu tsauwaki* said, "I will try." The girl said, "We will not sleep together. But when you kill me a deer, I will sleep with you." He said, "All right, go get me some water. I am thirsty." The girl went into the other room. *aiu tsauwaki* pulled off his mask.[8] The girl brought him a gourd of water. She looked at him and did not know him. He was a good-looking young man. The girl said, "Who are you? You are not him I brought in." She did not give the gourd dipper to the young man. She did not believe in him. So he showed her his mask. "I was in this mask." She said, "*hai.*" She gave the dipper to the young man. He drank. He finished drinking. The girl took the dipper away and came back. They lay down, but did not sleep close together. At sunrise the girl got up, wrapped him some *hewe*. *aiu tsauwaki* took it, put it on his back and went to *poshoakwe*. He came to where the deer were. *aiu tsauwaki* said to the deer, "*konatotewannanteae, hom chawe* (my children)." They said, "Happy, my father. *kesh to' ia?*" *aiu tsauwaki* said to the deer, "Which of you is going with me for me to give to your mother? Last night I came to have her. She said to me, 'The man who kills a deer for me, him I will have.'" A big deer said, "I will go with you." *aiu tsauwaki* took out a straight arrow. He wet it in his mouth. The deer was standing as far as from here to the store.[9] He struck the deer in the middle. The deer fell down. He cut it down the front and took out the insides. He tied the legs of the deer with *hokâipa* (yucca wide, *i. e.*, the giant yucca). He made a *ya'ton* (head rest). He took the heart and cooked it to eat. When he finished eating he put the deer on his back to go to his wife's house. He said to the deer, "*soanne* (I am going), my children." When he came they were eating breakfast. At the ladder he stamped his feet dancing and said, "*aiu! aiu! aiu!*" A crowd of people came and said, "Who is this man?" Then he went up the ladder saying, "*aiu! aiu! aiu!*" His wife ran out saying, "My husband is coming." She ran out as fast as she could. She called her father, "Father, come and help me take the deer off

my husband's back." The deer was very fat. The took off the deer and brought it into the house. The people said, "She wanted a deer. That is why she did not have the other man." They brought the deer in. Her father put the deer on the ground. He put *ehawe* (woman's blankets) over it and some beads (*taku*) around its neck. He took some tobacco. He made a cigarette, he smoked (*yampo'klikia*) the deer, and he sprinkled sacred meal (*ankanayake*) over the deer.[10] They ate together. Her father skinned the deer. He took a knife, he cut out little slices of meat. They dried them. *aiu tsauwaki* married the girl of the *shiwanni*. He stayed at home all day. In the morning when they were up, he went again to hunt deer. That night they slept together, When he went to the deer he killed another. He put it on his back and brought it home. When he came back the crowd of people came again and asked, "Is that *aiu tsauwaki?*" The girl said, "Yes." They gave him the name *aiu tsauwaki*. Then his wife became pregnant. Two sons were born. When they were four days old they began to talk.[11] The boys were mischievous and boisterous. The household was apprehensive about the boys. *aiu tsauwaki* said to the girl's father, "I must go where I live." "Where do you live?" "I live at *koluwela*." The wife wanted to go too. Her husband said, "You can't go. We are another sort of person." But the girl wanted so much to go, her husband said, "You may go too." She ground all day. When she had much meal she put it in a basket (*ho'ine*).[12] They were to go the next day. Her father told all the *ashiwanni* to come and cut their feather-sticks.[13] They cut feather-sticks for the girl, for the father of the two boys, and for the boys. Then the girl's mother sprinkled meal on their heads, and they started, first the father, then the two sons, then the girl. As they started the girl said "We are going, mother and father, be happy staying behind." Her mother said, "Be happy going." When they came out the people put sacred meal on the father of the two boys, on the two boys and on their mother. They started and went on by the road to *koluwela*. They reached *koluwela* near sundown (*yatokim*). When they reached *koluwela*, they went to the house of *aiu tsauwaki*. His *hota* took the meal off his wife's

head. She put it in a basket. The wife made *hewe* and they ate. And that is how the *kapwena okya* (woman) went to *koluwela. inote lenateatiki* (long ago that is the way, *i. e.*, thus long ago).[14]

NOTES

Informant, Tsatiselu. Tsatiselu is a man over eighty. He belongs to the *newekwe* fraternity. In the days of Naiuchi and Meshi he served two years as a *teniente.* He was formerly a *shalako wole.*

[1] From *telape* (tell). There are a very large number of *telapnawe.* No distinction is made by the Zuñi, as far as I could learn, between myth and folk-tale, between a story about a *koko* and a story about Coyote, Rabbit, etc. All *telapnawe* are equally true. The one exception are stories about *ley* (*rei*). Stories about *ley* are recognized as Mexican. There are other stories, probably stories which have been told by the Zuñi for a much longer time, which are undoubtedly Mexican or Spanish; but this provenience the Zuñi have forgotten and vehemently repudiate. Some of these stories together with certain Keresan variants I have reserved for publication in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore.*

There is a prejudice against telling *telapnawe* in summer. For one thing it attracts snakes. A flower held in the narrator's hand is, to be sure, a prophylactic. Margaret Lewis has told me that one August day when Tsatiselu, *an nana,* was telling a tale to Mr. Handy of Harvard University a snake crept in through the open door. Mr. Handy caught it in a glass jar, but thereafter *an nana* held a sunflower in his hand as he narrated. *Cf.* the Pima belief that a summer time narrator will be bitten by rattlesnakes. Russell, F., "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology* (1904–05), p. 206, also the Omaha belief that if stories are told in summer the snakes may hear and do mischief. "The children, however, carry the songs out during the summer blossoms, and the snak s do them no harm." Fletcher, A. C., "Glimpses of Child Life Among the Omaha Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* vol. 1 (1888), p. 120.

telapnawe are told at home or, more commonly, I think, in the *kiwitsine* or at fraternity gatherings. During the *itiwonna* fraternity retreat, in particular, it is customary to tell *telapnawe.* At that time, during the evening before the men escort the women members home, *telapnawe* will be told.

Certain tales may be known to certain fraternities, but there is no definite monopoly. There may be variants in different *kiwitsiwe.*

[2] A man carries things wrapped in a cloth hung around his back or waist.

[3] For feather-sticks. Today commercial cotton is used.

[4] However it may have been in the past, today a suitor does not ask a girl of her parents; nor does he bring presents in advance. The courtship in the following tale is more characteristic of actual practice. After twilight meetings at the well or meetings somewhere outdoors, the man comes into the girl's house at night and sleeps with her, leaving before dawn. He may follow this course for several nights, "staying still" as it is called, before he begins to eat with the

household and, as a regular member, work for them. He makes the girl a present of jewelry or buckskin for moccasins or blanket and she, putting on her best clothes, takes a basket of meal, as in the conclusion of this tale, to his mother's house. Before she leaves, her mother-in-law will fill her basket with something (see Tale VI), sometimes with corn for her to grind. The girl may grind during her visit (see Tale VI).

[5] Or "indeed." *hia hai* or *ma* is more commonly the woman's expression, *hai*, the man's. For other differences in the speech of the sexes see "The Zuñi *łamana*," p. 522.

ahana (?) *an tachu*! or *ahana an tsita*! are exclamations of dismay when you are conscious of having done something amiss. The exclamatory appeals or expressions given by Cushing in his folktales were unfamiliar to my informants.

[6] *aiu tsauwaki* is thus dressed today in the *watempla* dance. There are four stiff macaw feathers in his hair. On one side his hair is done up in a Hopi whorl, on the other it hangs down loose.

[7] It is made of green corn.

[8] Coming as a masker, and then making some excuse to be alone in order to remove the mask is, I have been told, a recurrent incident of the tales.

[9] About 200 yards.

[10] This rite is performed today.

[11] Miraculously quick growth is a characteristic incident of the tales. So is giving birth over night after conceiving.

[12] So-called Apache basket.

[13] Before taking any considerable journey a person plants feather-sticks. It is because they are going away that feather-sticks are planted too for the deceased and at the conclusion of many ceremonials for the *koko*.

Before starting on a trying trip, for example to buy sheep or cattle, a man would plant. A Zuñi once went with me to Acoma and his parents were anxious about his journey, but they did not plant, nor did he.

[14] At this formula at the conclusion of a tale all present will stretch their arms over their heads, saying, "May my corn be so high" or, in the case of a child, "May I grow to be so big." *ho* (make) *e* (girl) *tashatu* (tall much), a little girl I knew would say. Stretching the arms out sidewise, a man might wish his melons or squash, or a woman her chili or onions, "so large, so round," or one might say *la'k* (this year) *ho* (make) *awan* (our) *kwał* (crops) *lena* (plant) *łashitu* (old, much).

II

sonsino·te[1] at *kwakina* they lived and at *hampasauwa*. At *kiakima* were the girl of the *shiwanni* (*shiwann an elle*) and her father. They were *ahalikwe* (witches). At *hampasauwa*, *a tsauwaki* worked hard all day (*yatoneli*). At *kiakima* the girl of the *shiwanni* said to another man, "You go to *hampasauwa* and tell the

young man I want to have him because he raises corn and everything." One day they danced *lapalteachia* at *kiakima*. The *hampasauwa* young man went to see the dance. He stood on one side of the roof. On the other side stood the girl. They danced all day. At sunset the girl went home, took a jar and went for water. The *hampasauwa* young man was going to his house. When the girl saw him she called and he went to her. She said, "Are you going?" "Yes." She said, "Don't go. I want to have you." They went to the well and stayed awhile. When it was dark (*tewiktipa*) the girl put the jar on her head and they went up to her house. They went into the girl's house. The girl's father said, "*kesh to' ia?*" The young man said, "*eh.*" He put out a stool (*paiyan*). The young man sat down. The father said to the girl, "When somebody comes, you must feed him." Her father called the other *ashiwanni* and they came together in his house. The father said to the girl, "You must go to sleep now. Maybe the young man is tired." So she went to the other room and made the pallet and they went to sleep. Early in the morning (*chamle*) the young man got up and went to his house. "Where did you sleep?" his father asked him. I slept at the house of the girl of the *shiwanni*. As I was starting back the girl of the *shiwanni* told me to say and I stayed." When it was noon (*tsunapa*), the young man said, "I had better go." His father said, "Don't come [*i. e.*, back here]. You must work, that is why the girl of the *shiwanni* married you." In the morning he did not come back [to his mother's house]. When it was planting time, the young man planted for his father and mother, but not for his wife. When the corn came he took it to his father and mother. He gave none to his wife. The girl said to her husband, "Why did you not bring me some corn? You took all to your father and mother and brought me none." He sat there saying nothing. When the sun went down he went to his house at *hampasauwa*. In the morning he did not go to his wife's house. His father and mother said to him, "Why do you not go to your wife?" "I did not give her any corn. She said to me 'You took all to your father and mother and brought me none.' That is why I came back." His father said,

"Why did you not give her some instead of giving it all to us? You must work for them next *telakwa͡iipa* (the half year thence, *i. e.*, in the spring)." The young man said, "I do not want to go again." The next morning he did not go. The young man planted for his father and mother again. His corn was as high as this house. The girl waited for her husband, but he did not come. She said, "We will eat up all his corn." She went to *pekianalikwe* (place of witches). She was well dressed.[2] She had on good *ewa*, good moccasins, good belt, good *pitone*, earrings in her ears, beads around her neck. When she reached the house she made a fire. When it was dark she called for her brothers. She called them with the voice of a wolf (*unawiko*). She called "u . . . u!" She called four times. The *ashiwanni* came and said, "*konatotsuna-kanakia*." They answered, "*ketsanish*." They all came in and the house was full of witch *ashiwanni*.[3] The *mosi* (director) of the witches said to the girl, "What do you want us for?" She said, "My husband gave me no corn last year. He planted only for his mother and father. This season (*luktelakwena*) he has much corn, so I want you to eat it all up for him."[4] One of the witch young men was friend (*kuwa͡ie*) to the *hampasauwa* young man. So he went to the *hampasauwa* young man and told the young man they were going to eat up his corn. He said, "Make a pit. If any fall in, you must kill them. Make a pit tomorrow (*tewani*). I came to tell you the news." In the morning he made a big pit, as deep as this house. When he finished he put some sticks and some *hawe* (money) on top of the pit. He removed the sand he had taken out to the other side of his field. When the sun went down he had finished his pit and he went to his house. When the sun went down and it was dark their sister called again and they came again. The *mosi* made his body red[5] and put *hoka͡ipa* (yucca) around his wrists, around his chest,[6] around the crown of his head, and to the top of his head he fastened a red eagle feather. He put a bearskin on his back and he became a bear.[7] He said, "Well, I must be going, maybe I will eat the whole field by morning." He went. No sooner had he eaten one ear of corn than he fell into the pit. He tried to get out but he could not, it was very deep. He

was in the pit all night (*tełinaeli*). Early in the morning the young man went towards his pit. On his way he ate some of his corn. At the pit he saw a hole. The bear had taken off his bear mask (*anchulen*) and he was sitting on the bearskin. The young man said, "Did you come last night? Why did you eat my corn?" "*awan ikina* (Our younger sister) told me to eat the corn up because you gave her none." He tightened his bow. He took two of his arrows and wet[8] one of them. The man said, "Please don't kill me. If you let me go, I will give you these beads and earrings." "I do not want them. Beads and earrings will give me nothing to eat." He wet his arrow and shot the man in the middle. The man fell down dead. He put some sticks on the pit and made it as it was at first. He went up to his father. His father said, "Did you kill the bear?" "Yes, I killed him." His sister waited for him. He did not come. She said, "He is dead." When it was dark their sister called to them again. They went to their sister. She said, "Our *mosi* did not come, maybe he is dead. But I want you to eat up the corn for me." They said, "Who will go?" She said, "His *pekwĭn*." He made his body red and put the *hokaĭpa* on his chest and wrists and head and a red eagle feather on the top of his head. The others said, "We must go to sleep." The friend went and told the *hampasauwa* young man, "The *pekwĭn* is going. Did you kill the *mosi?*" "Yes." "Where is he?" "In the pit." He went back to *kwakina* and went to sleep. The *pekwĭn* came and went to the cornfield. Their sister had said, "You must go to the middle, there the corn is tall." He took one ear and ate it, he took the second and then he fell into the pit. The young man waited until sunrise and he went to the field, he ate an ear. He saw the man in the pit. He said, "Did you come?" "Yes." "Why did you eat my corn?" "*awăn ikina* told me to eat the corn up because you gave her none." He tightened his bow. He took two of his arrows and wet one of them. The man said, "Please don't kill me. If you let me go I will give you these beads and earrings." "Earrings I cannot eat." He wet his arrow and shot the man under the arm. The man fell down dead. He put some sticks on the pit and made it as it was at first. He went up

to his father. His father said, "Did you kill the bear?" "Yes, I killed him." She waited until dark. His sister waited for him. He did not come. She said, "He is dead." When it was dark their sister called to them again. They went to their sister. She said, "Our *pekwĭn* did not come, maybe he is dead. But I want you to eat the corn up for me." Her brothers asked, "Who will go?" She said, "the *pilashiwanni*." They paint his body red and put the *hokâipa* on his chest and wrists and a red eagle feather on the top of his head. He went at midnight. He took one ear and ate it, he took the second and then he fell into the pit. He saw the *mosi* and the *pekwĭn*. The young man waited until sunrise and he went to the field. He ate one ear. He saw the man in the pit. He said, "Did you come?" "Yes." "Why did you eat my corn?" "*awan ikina* told me to eat the corn up because you gave her none." He tightened his bow. He took two of his arrows and wet one of them. The man said, "Please don't kill me. If you let me go I will give you these beads and earrings." "I do not want them. Beads and earrings will give me nothing to eat." He shot him in the neck. The father said, "Did you kill another?" "Yes." His sister waited for him. He did not come. She said, "He is dead." When it was dark their sister called to them again. They went to their sister. When they came she said, "I will go myself and eat all I can." Her father painted her body red and put the *hokâipa* on her chest, wrists and head and a red eagle feather on the top of her head. Her father went into the other room and brought her a bear mask. Her brothers left. The friend went to *hampasauwa* and said, "Your wife is coming. You must not let her go, but you must kill her." At midnight she went to the field, she looked for the *mosi*, the *pekwĭn*, the *pilashiwanni*. She could not find them. She took one ear and ate it, she took the second and then she fell into the pit. She sat on the east side in the pit. At sunrise he went to the field. He saw tracks in his field. He ate one ear. He saw his wife in the pit. He said, "Did you come?" "Yes." "Why did you eat my corn?" "Because you gave me none." He tightened his bow. He took two of his arrows and wet one of them. He took a straight arrow with a big arrow head.

She said, "*tachu, chale*" (Father, child). He tightened his bow. He took two of his arrows and wet one of them. She said, "Please don't kill me. If you let me go I will give you these beads and earrings." "I do not want them. Beads and earrings will give me nothing to eat." She was crying, her face on her arms. He shot her in the back. The arrow came out through her chest. He covered her up. He said, "Maybe her father will come." Her father waited for her. She did not come. He said, "Maybe she is dead." He called, "*apapa*" (elder brothers). He said, *pilashiwanni, mosi, pekwĭn*, they are dead. Now we will stop trying to punish him." The *kiakima* young man went to his friend and said, "That was the last time they tried to punish you." Early in the morning the father and the young man went down and filled the pit with sand. They said, "We must not stay here. We will go to *halonakwe*. Maybe if we go to *halonakwe* they will treat us well there." That is the way the young man killed the *ahaĺikwe*. *inote lenateatikia*.

NOTES

Informant, Tsatiselu.

[1] For this set term for beginning a tale or for another, *sonachi sonsinote*, I could get no translation other than that for *inote*, long ago. *sons* is only a meaningless prefix to *inote*, I was assured. For Cushing's translations see *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. v (1892), p. 49, n. 1; p. 50, n. 1.

[2] Women witches are also said to go nude except for a blanket. This may be a borrowed idea. It is not at all unlikely that original Pueblo beliefs about witchcraft were embroidered with Spanish ideas. The Spaniards even conducted witchcraft trials in New Mexico. Bandelier, "Final Report," pt. 1, p. 215, n. 3, In another tale told me by Tsatiselu, a story about *ley* and hence "Mexican," witches and their ways were introduced.

[3] Witches are generally believed to be organized into fraternities. To be initiated a candidate must devote a member of his or her household to the fraternity. The dedicated persion will sicken and die. Then the initiation takes place. I have heard of several households in which a person is believed to have been "given" to the witches. Witchship appears to run in families somewhat like the office of *shiwanni*.

When a person falls sick, people watch for the witch to come round. "Every sickness comes from a witch." The medicinemen suck out from the body what the witch has sent into it—a bit of bone, wool, hair, or meat. Whatever is sucked out is covered with a dark skin, "it looks like a prune." Hair cuttings are burned, for witches work through shorn hair. (Navajo too would bewitch a Zuñi through his

hair. They would have a dance over it, thereby rendering the person palsied.) Witches would put the shorn hair in a tree [?]. (There is no analogous belief about nail parings.) Were you to refuse a witch any article he would proceed to bewitch you. Witches are supposed to steal from corpses. Passages lead from their houses to the graveyard. In 1915 I heard of a girl dug up and deprived of her beads and bracelets. My informant said all the village was talking about it, *cf.* "The Traditions of the Hopi," p. 127.

[4] The common way for a witch to destroy crops is by causing a grasshopper plague. Besides the grasshopper witch mentioned on p. 280 I heard of an old woman who years ago was hung up and confessed to the grasshopper plague. She had been seen putting a grasshopper in a field. (At Santa Clara I have heard of grasshopper plagues being sent by the witches at San Ildefonso.)

[5] The color associated with witches. They are also said to appear in white,—again perhaps a borrowed idea.

[6] Yucca is tied thus on dancers. Around the chest, however, it is not tied. In another tale about witches it is also tied about the chest.

[7] Witches are commonly believed to be able either to control or direct animals or to turn into animals. An owl hooting or a stray burro or cat may be taken for a witch. This is also a Santa Clara belief. *Cf.* "The Traditions of the Hopi," p. 126.

[8] Unless the arrow is moist it will not enter the animal very far. If moist, it will go through into the heart.

III

sons inote at *halonakwe* there lived a *tsauwaki* Halushpa [his personal name] with his *hota*. His clothes were white, his moccasins were white, his hair belt (*tsuton*) was white, his *banda* (*olłpan*) was white. At *mukwinakwe* there lived a *shiwann an elle*. All the young men wanted to have her, but she would have none, because she wanted a man who had killed a deer. The *halona* young man heard about it. He said to his *hota*, "I am going to *mukwinakwe* to see if she will have me." He took with him only a small board. When he arrived, under a hill by a well, he began to dig a hole in the ground. He put the plank into the hole and covered it up. He hid. In a little while (*koytenelap*) the girl came down to the well for water. When she was in the well the man came out. He stood on the spot over the board. He sang,

aa niuu niuu
aa niuu niuu
kuchininaku[1] *ka*[2] *Halushpa*
inaa[3] *uaa peuu tani*

When he finished singing, he danced. The girl in the well heard it. She thought it was a voice from underground. She listened and he sang again,

aa niuu niuu
aa niuu niuu
kuchininiku ka Halushpa
inaa uaa peuu tani

She got no water. She started to run home. As she came out the young man hid until she left. Then he ran back to *halonakwe*. When she reached the house, her mother said, "*katsiki* (Girl), why did you bring no water?" She said, "There was a voice underground saying, "You go to *halonakwe*, *itawonna*, to Halushpa, *an ulawana*.[4] If you don't go you will be struck by lightning." Her mother said, "Come, let us get ready then." They made a big basket (*ho'in łanna*) of meal, and put the meal in sacks. Her mother's brothers (*an akyakya*) took the sacks on their backs. When they reached *hakohanuła* they made up a basket of meal. They left her. She came in and there were boys at the well. They said to her, "Don't go that way; Halushpa is not good." But she kept on her way. She came to the house. She said, "*she*. Take the meal." Halushpa said to his *hota*, "Go out and get the basket of meal." She went in. Halushpa said, "*imu imu*," he was so glad that the girl had come. He took the meal and put it in the grinding place (*akielu*). His *hota* put the *hekusna* (*he*, *hewe*, *kusna*, dry) on the floor. She put out some *kochi* (wood rat) stew. They ate all together. When they finished, the *hota* took the things away. They went to sleep. Early in the morning when they woke the *mukwinakwe* girl made *mutkiapauwe*.[5] After they had eaten, the *hota* went over to the hills to get stones to make *hepaloke*.[6] While she was gone the girl washed her husband's head. After it dried, she combed it. While she was combing it, he turned and looked at her and said, "Were you afraid?" She said nothing. He asked her again. She said nothing. He asked four times. She said nothing. She said, "Was it you?" And she struck him on the head. He said, "Yes, it was me." She got up and got together

her moccasins and her basket. She said, "I am going to my house. She ran out and started back to *mukwinakwe*.[7] He said, "*hom tsita* (My mother), I was lying." She would not listen, but went on. About that time his *hota* came with the stones and found him crying. "*hom nana*, you went and told her. Why did you tell?" That is why the Halushpa *tsauwaki* failed to get his wife. *lewi semkoniki* (thus story short).[8]

NOTES

Informant, Waisilutiwa, or by his English nickname, Shorty. Waisilutiwa is a man about fifty-five. For a long time he was a member of *matke tsanna* fraternity. Recently having quarreled with some of his fellow members he joined the *petchotsilo'kwe* fraternity, repeating the history of the man who founded the *petchotsilo'kwe*.

[1] Equivalent to *ellashtoki*, girl.

[2] Lightning.

[3] Go.

[4] Mother-in-law is *ulawa*, w. sp., *talawa*, m. sp.

[5] Cornmeal dumplings.

[6] Meal wrapped in corn spear and cooked between two stones.

[7] Her impetuosity is not unparalleled at Zuñi. "Leaving without a word' is a common enough circumstance of conjugal life. I recall, in particular, the story of an Acoma girl who when her husband's sister one day refused her some food, the most grievous of treatment in Zuñi eyes, put on her moccasins and started forth on the road to Acoma.

[8] Or, perhaps, as Cushing translates this formula ending, "Thus shortens my story."

IV

At *molatinakwe* (*kushilowa*) all the *ashiwanni* had failed to bring rain. *nishapako* (dove) thought he would try. He said to the others, "How are we going to get along? If it does not rain, we shall have no seeds to eat. I am going to try for rain." They said, "What are you going to do?" "You will see. Wait." He made a pool of water.[1] He prayed over it. He sang,

una a uua a taka
una a uua u taka
anahona chawito[2]

He took a feather out of each wing,[3] dipped them in the pool, and sprinkled in every direction. As he did this the clouds began to gather. He sang again,

una a uua u taka
una a uua u taka
anahona chawito

He dipped the feathers and sprinkled in all directions. It began to sprinkle. While he was doing this there was an old chicken hawk (*anełau*) at *aleimuł* watching. He said, "There is *nishapako* praying for rain." He kept watching. When it began to sprinkle, he flew over to where *nishapako* was. While he was singing, *anełau* swooped down on him and ate him up. The clouds all went away again because the one who had prayed was eaten up.[4] Because of the hawk they had no rain. Thus long ago.

NOTES

Informant, Waisilutiwa.

Cf. 90, "Traditions of the Hopi," also no. 98, in which beetles dance for rain.

[1] As the *ashiwanni* do in their retreat for rain.

[2] All meaningless syllables.

[3] Instead of the two ceremonial eagle feathers.

[4] I am reminded of the drought due to the misbehaving *koyemshi* personator referred to on p. 285. The close connection between the performer of a rite and the object that the rite is intended to secure is very strikingly illustrated in this tale.

V

At *penaukluelatka*[1] they had a famine. The people went to *mukwinakwe* and to places in the east (*tewankwi*)[2] where there was plenty of food.[3] In one household they left behind two little children (*aetsa*), a boy and his younger sister (*ikina*). They had nothing to eat. *an papa* (elder brother) would go out and kill snow birds (*tsilo*) by throwing stones. In course of time he would hit one. He would bring them in and roast them by the fire. Sometimes he would get birds. Sometimes he would not. The hair at the back (*tsinotkine*) of his *ikina* was about that long [showing it: eight inches]. *an papa* said, "*ikina*, let me take a few hairs from your *tsinotkine* and I will make a trap (*pitu*) so we can kill birds faster." He took a few of her hairs and made some traps. When he had them made, he took them out and set them. Every day (*konayatowe*) he would bring in birds. The traps would press against their breasts and kill them. He set traps from his house to

anelau an tekiapoi (chicken hawk hill).[4] When he went to look at his traps he found the chicken hawks had eaten his birds. He began to cry. He saw a rabbit lying in the snow. He went after the rabbit. The rabbit would run a little ways and would stop. The boy would run after him, the rabbit would run. The rabbit ran into his hole. The rabbit said, "*tsita, tachu*, a little boy (*otsi tsanna*) ran after me and for some reason or other he is crying." They said, "Why did you not bring him with you? Go after him." So the rabbit came up. When the little boy saw him, he ran away. Rabbit said, "*otsi tsanna*, why do you run away? Come with me. Let us go into my house (*jiakwin*)."[5] *otsi tsanna* said, "How can I go in?" He said, "When you step in, the door will widen." *otsi tsanna* went in and the door widened. He went into the room. When he went in the clothes (*uchuwe*) were hanging around the wall.[6] As he went in *otsi tsanna* said, "*konatotewannanteae, hom atsita hom atachu.*" They said, "*ketsanashi im.*" They said, "Why were you crying?" *otsi tsanna* said, "Because the hawk ate up my snowbirds." They said, "When you go home you can take five of us along with you. When you catch us, take us by the hind legs and strike us on the ears with your hands. When you reach the house put us on the floor with our heads to the east, and put an ear of corn in our [narrator pointed to his hand] and sprinkle us with meal." *otsi tsanna* said, "We have no corn." They said, "Look around and see if you can find a squash seed. If you find a seed, take the skin off us, lay us on the coals, when we begin to puff up and sizzle, throw in the seed.[7] We will take it with us to *koluwela*. That will be our lunch (*haniklaue*). We shall go back to where we came. We shall not die (*asish*)." When he left the house, five rabbits got up and put on their dresses and went out to wait for him. He went a little way and he saw a rabbit. He caught it, it was not wild. He tried to kill it by pressing its breast as he had pressed the birds. It did not die. When he struck it on the ears, it died. He went on a little way and he caught another. He kept on until he caught five. He went to his house. When his *ikina* saw him bringing back the rabbits her eyes stuck out. She said, "What do you bring?" He said, "I dont know what they are.

I went into their house and they called themselves rabbits." He went into the house and skinned them and put them on the fire and put the squash seeds too and the rabbits took the squash seeds with them and when they reached their house they had the squash seeds to eat. The next day *otsi tsanna* went and killed ten rabbits. Each day he was able to kill rabbits because they had their lunch to take with them. When he began to eat the rabbits, he began to grow. He became a young man (*an tsauwaki*).

At *suskachokta*[8] a big yellow wolf had his wife and children. The young man was out hunting and he met the wolf. The wolf said, "What are you doing?" The young man said, "I am hunting rabbits." "How many have you killed?" "I have killed four. What are you doing?" "I am looking for jack rabbits." "Where do you live?" "I live at *suskachokta* with my wife and your younger brothers (*tom asuwe*)." Wolf said, "Where do you live?" "I live at *penaukluelatka* with my *ikina*. We live alone." Wolf said, "Come, let us go to my house. The young man said, "Come then." When they reached Wolf's house, Wolf took off his dress and hung it up. The young man said, "My mother and younger brothers, younger sisters, *konatotewannanteae*." They said, "*ketsanashi*." He sat down. The mother went into the other room and brought out a basket of *hewe alhelanna heliana*—green corn *hewe* and a bowl of deer meat and watermelons and said, "*sĭ to* (So, eat)." And he ate. She made the little wolves move away so he ate alone. When he was finished, he said, "Where did the watermelons come from?" *an tachu* said, "From below, we borrowed them from below." The young man said, "I would like to have some." Wolf said, "We will go where they are. Wait four days. We will prepare to go. The young man went to his house. The four days were not up when on the third day he went to Wolf's house. When he started he did not tell his sister where he was going. He said he had found a deer track and he went after the deer. She said, "Go." When he went to Wolf's house, Wolf said, "With whom do you live?" "I live with my *ikina*. We live alone." Wolf said, "Take these muskmelons, watermelons and corn to your sister and then return." He took them to his

sister. Then he returned to Wolf's house. The next day they went out hunting jack rabbits. They killed four. Wolf took two, and the young man took two. Each went to his house. Next morning the young man went to Wolf's house. They started. They reached *shoa'tkiana* [a spring]. There a spider was sitting at the edge of the water. Spider said, "*keshi.*" They said, "*eh.*" Spider said, "Come on then." Both stepped into the basket he had. The young man and Wolf got in and shut their eyes. Spider let them down, down. When they got down they shook the basket, it shook no more. So they knew they were on the ground. They opened their eyes and got out of the basket and Spider drew it up. Wolf and the young man went on to where the fields were. There they built a fire. They gathered green corn, roasted it and ate till they were full. They went on to the watermelon field. They ate there until they were full. They went back to the cornfield and took some of every kind of corn and melons in their blankets. They started for the basket. As they went over the hill they saw coming the people who owned the fields. The people yelled, "Here you are again stealing our corn!" The two ran and made haste to the basket. Spider drew them up. After Spider had drawn them up, he said, "My spinning thread has given out. I have nothing more to spin. You must give me some." Wolf said, "Take some from where you want." So Spider pulled out some from behind Wolf's ears—that was the softest. They went on to Wolf's house and when they reached there Wolf said to the young man, "You live alone, go to your house. When you get there, take a grain of each and put them into the empty houses and "by their know how" the houses will become full of corn." All the village became full of corn.

At *mukwinakwe* the mother of the two children said to her husband, "Go to *penaukluelatka* and see if it has rained. If it has rained we will take what little corn we have and plant it. Maybe by some chance our children lived." He started for *penaukluelatka.* As he went along, he thought, "The children could not be alive, they must be dead." When he approached his house he saw the smoke coming out of the chimney. He thought to himself, "Who

can be living in our house?" He went in the house and he found in there a big girl (*ellashtoki*). He said, *hom chale konatotewannanteae.*" She looked at him. He spoke to her again. She did not speak. He caught her in his arms and said, "My child, why don't you speak to me?" She said, "Let me go, you are no father to me. You did not love us and you left us." The father sat down and cried. The brother came. She went out to meet him. She said, "*keshi.*" He said, "*eh.*" She went in and placed the meal on the floor and said, "Let us eat." The young man did not look at his father. They gave him nothing to eat. While the father sat there crying, an old man and his wife came from *mukwinakwe.* They saw the smoke from the chimney and they came into the house. The boy and girl were sitting there eating and the father sitting crying and they did not ask him to eat. Both [persons understood] came in and said, "*hom atsanna* (my little ones), *konatotewannanteae.*" Neither spoke. They went on eating. The father said, These are my children (*hom chawe*). I came. They won't speak to me." Then the two [persons] began to cry. While they were sitting crying a couple (*kwilemona*) came from *tewankwi.* They tried to get into their house. They pushed the door. They could not get in. They kept pushing, they got their heads in. The house was full of corn. They went to the house of the girl and young man. They went and said, "*hom atsanna, konatotewannanteae?*" *alashi* (old people) said, "*ketsanashi,*" but the two (*achi*) did not say anything, they went on eating and spoke to each other. The last two said, "What is the matter? Why do not these two speak?" The father said, "I do not know. They are my own children and they won't speak to me. They said to the young man, "Why don't you speak to us?" The young man said, "I will speak. This is my own father (*hish hom tachu*).[9] He went away and left us two alone. They did not care what became of us. Because of the big yellow wolf all these houses are full of corn. The houses are not yours any more. They are our houses. If you want your houses back, you must pay us for them." They said, "Won't you let us eat before we go?" They said, "Yes, come and eat." So they all ate and when they finished three went back

to *mukwinakwi*, and two to *tewankwi*. They told their blood relatives (*ianikine*)[10] and the others that the houses were full of corn. "Because of the two children left behind our houses are full of corn. We left them to die; but they did not die. We can all go back if we pay them." So they all came home. To the two they brought blankets, belts, buckskin, beads. The two gave them their houses. When everyone came back the young man said, "We will prepare feather-sticks for our father, Yellow Wolf. It won't do to have him living near us here. We shall have to send him away." So he prepared the feather-sticks, one for the father wolf, one for mother wolf, one for the sons, one for the daughters. He took them to Wolf's house. He gave one to the father and told him he was to go to the north, one he gave to the mother and told her she was to go to the west; he gave one to the two males (*aotse achi*) and told them they were to go the to south, and he gave one to the two little sisters (*an ikinachi*) and told them to go to the east. That is why today the yellow wolves who live on the animals they kill are in the hills in every direction.

NOTES

Informant, Waisilutiwa.

[1] This may be Pinaua, a site three miles southwest of Zuñi given by Bandelier ("Final Report," pt, 1, p. 133) as a site of old Cibola.

[2] Inclusive term for Laguna, Acoma, etc.

[3] Such migrations are not at all uncommon in Zuñi tradition. In Acoma I met a Zuñi who had been left there as a child by parents who had visited Acoma because of famine in Zuñi. My Acoma hostess was the widow of a Zuñi who had resorted to Acoma in a time of famine.

[4] A *shalako* shrine.

[5] This is a feminine pronunciation of house; ordinarily a man would say *kiakwin*. Women refer to the *kiakwemosi* as *jiakwemosi*.

[6] *Cf.* "Traditions of the Hopi," p. 188.

[7] A rabbit hunter will lay his rabbit head to the east and sprinkle him with meal. When he puts the rabbit on the fire he will put also a bit of bread or *hewe* for his spirit.

[8] A *shalako* shrine.

[9] *Cf.* "Tewa Kinship Terms," p. 277.

[10] The following expressions are used to distinguish blood relations from persons to whom the same kinship terms may be applied. *hom hoi ashkoona*, my person made(?), *i. e.*, the person making me, *i. e.*, my father; *hom chawashteona*,

my children made(?) or childbirth *i. e.* my mother; *topinde kwaiekteona*, one come out *i. e.* my maternal half-brother or sister. For half-brother or sister by the same father there is no distinctive descriptive term. "*Cf.* Zuñi Kin and Clan," pp. 69–70.

VI

There was a young man, son of a *shiwanni*, living at *halona*. The girls all wanted to have him. One girl came and brought a bowl of meal with her. They said, "*im.*" They gave her something to eat. They said, "Why have you come? You have never been to the house before." She said, "I want to have the young man." The father said, "We have nothing to say. It is for the young man to say. Young people will have each other." They waited until quite late. They went into the other room. The young man said, "We will not sleep close together tonight. We will wait until our father the Sun comes up. There plastered in the wall at a certain position is a *shotone* (abalone shell). If you really want to have me you must take a ball of the meal and throw it at the shell. If the meal sticks to the shell I will marry you." They lay down but they did not sleep together. The next morning when the sun got into the position to shine on the shell,[1] she took a handful of meal and threw it at the shell. It did not stick; the meal fell to the ground. The young man said, "It is too bad, you do not really want to have me. If you did, the meal would have stuck." She said, "You really do not want a wife. I thought you really wanted a wife, that's why I came. You only wanted to make an experiment. I will go home." She took her basket. His mother filled it full of beans (*nowe*). She went home. Another girl came from *matsaki*.[2] She piled meal high in a basket. She went to the young man's house. They heard a step on top of the house. The mother said to her son, "There is someone else coming. I am ashamed. Why don't you have one of these girls?" He said, "I can't help it if they do not stay." She said, "You must take one, it is a shame." The girl said "*she*, come and get the basket of meal." The mother took the meal and brought it down. The mother said, "*imu.*" She sat down. They brought in something to eat. The young man sat down and ate with her. The father

asked, "*kopto ikwe?* You have never been here before, you must want something." She said, "I want to have this [person]." The young man said, "I have nothing to say. It is customary for a young man to have a wife." They sat for a while. He said to his *ikina*, "*ikina*, go up and make our pallet. *an ikina* went up and made the pallet. When she had made it, she came down and said, "*sĭ* (done, 'all right')." The young man said to his wife, "Come, let us go up where I sleep." He said, "We will not sleep together. We will wait until our Sun Father comes up. Then we will see whether you are to be my wife." They lay down but they did not sleep together. The next morning when the sun rose, he told the girl to go into the room where her meal was and make a ball (*omuleashe*) and bring it out. She did as he said. They stood a little way from the wall. He said, "If you really want to have me, this meal will stick to the shell." She threw the meal. It crumbled down. He said, "You do not really want to have me. That's why it did not stick." She said, "You do not really want a wife. You test them. That's why you have no wife. I must go home." She went in the other room to get her basket. She said to them, "I am going home. Your young man really does not want a wife. He experiments with them. That is why no one stays. I am going home." The mother filled her basket with white beans. She went home.

There was a girl from *shipapulemi*.[3] She heard about this young man who would have nobody. Instead of grinding corn meal, she went out and picked cactus fruit,[4] a big basket full. She put on her best clothes and said to them, "I am going to *halona* to see why the son of the *shiwanni* has no wife." She takes her basket of cactus fruit on her head and starts. It is midday (*itiwa*) when she is on top of the mountain. Towards sundown (*yatok kwatone*) she passes *matsaki*. The *matsaki* people look out and see her coming and say, "Poor thing, there goes another girl. Maybe she is going to see the young man who won't have a wife. She is going in vain. He won't have her." It is dark (*tetaptechike*) when she reaches *halona*. She goes through the large plaza. She goes up the ladder. They hear. She says, "*she*!" They say, "*hiati*![5] Somebody else

is coming! We are ashamed to have so many come and you not take any one of them." He said, "It is not I. It is they. If they will not stay, I cannot help it." The girl said, "Come and get my basket." The mother went up and got it. She brought it down. She smelt of it. She said, "She has brought something I do not know." She put it on the floor. The girl came down. They said, "*imu.*" She sat down. The mother spread out the meal for her to eat. The young man sat down beside her. They ate. The mother uncovered the basket she had brought. They tasted of it. They said, "How good this tastes! What is it?" They all ate the *tukluptse.* When they were finished eating the father addressed her as *katsiki.* Because she brought the cactus fruit, not the meal, he surmised she was not a real person. "Why have you come?" She said, "I have come to have your son." The father said, "I have nothing to say. It is for my son to say." The son said, "I have nothing to say. A man has a wife." They sat there for a while. The young man said to his *ikina,* "*ikina,* go up and make our pallet. *an ikina* went up and made the pallet. When she had made it, she came down and said, "*sĭ.*" The young man said to his wife, "Come, let us go up where I sleep." He said, "We will not sleep together. We will wait until our Sun Father comes up. Then we will see whether you are to by my wife." The girl pulled her pallet a little way from his. They lay down. The others who had come had not slept at all during the night, but he had slept. But this girl, as soon as she lay down, began to snore and she slept sound all night. He did not sleep. He began to think that things were not as they should be by her sleeping so soundly. In the morning he woke up the girl. He said, "Get up, our father the Sun is about to come up. You go in the other room and make a ball of meal." She said, I have mine with me." She put her hand in her belt and drew out her sacred meal. It was very coarse. He said, "As soon as the sun shines on that shell throw your ball of meal and if it sticks you really want to have me." She took her meal in her hand, she began to pray over it, saying, "I want you, Father Sun, to take this meal and keep it and not let a grain of it

fall. I have come to have this man and I do not want you to let me fail." She threw the meal. Although it was very coarse, it all stuck to the shell, not a grain fell. The Sun did as she had asked him. He took the meal and did not let any of it fall. Then the young man embraced her and said, "*ellakwe*, (thanks) *hom tsita* (my mother). You really wanted me and that's why you did not fail." They came out into the other room and neither spoke about the girl going away. The mother and father said, "*ellakwa*, you are going to have our son?" She said, "Yes." Neither father nor mother knew about the shell in the wall or why the other girls had left. The girl said, "Bring out my corn." The mother brought out a basket of corn and together they shelled it. The girl said again, "Bring out another basket." They shelled that. She said again, "Bring out another basket." She brought out a third basketful. She said again, "Bring out another basket." They brought out a fourth basketful. They shelled that. The girl took the corn and put it in the *akielu*. By noon she had it ground. She said, "Mother, bring out some more corn." She brought out more corn. She asked again and again until they had shelled four baskets. By sunset she had these four basketsful ground. In all she had eight baskets of meal ground.[6] That night both went up and made their own pallet. That night they slept together. They had each other. She lived at her mother-in-law's (*ula ima*) and every day she would grind. They had much meal, their corn was going fast. It was almost *shalako* time. The *koyemshi* had come in. The *sayatasha* had come in, it was four days to *shalako*. Two days from *shalako*, the young man said to his wife, "I want to make you a pair of moccasins." She said, "Do as you please." He cut the hide, he measured her foot, he cut the buckskin and made the moccasins. On the day *shalako* was to come, *sayatasha* started from *akohannatina* and came on to *ishanantekiapo*, planted their feather-sticks there and came on down to *hepatina* and were there. The girl said to her husband, "Have you no fluffy eagle feather (*ukehan*)?" He said, "Yes." She said, "I want one." He said, "What for?" "I want one very much." He said, "Very

well," and he made her one. Part of it he colored red with the red stone. He tied to it a white string (*pikohan*), and he gave it to her. She took it from her husband and put it in her bosom. She ground again. *sayatasha* came across the river and planted at *teklanan*. *sayatasha* gave his *weana—hu! hu! hu!* When the girl heard the call, she jumped over the grinding stones and ran into the room where the corn was. She had become a bear.[7] She was running around in there growling. Her mother cried out, "*hom katsiki*, that's why we talked, we knew something would happen." These people lived on *tsiaa* plaza. *sayatasha* had come to the west side and was coming into *tsia'a* plaza. The young man was standing on his own house-top by the ladder. *sayatasha* and *hutulu* planted in the plaza. They met and gave their call. The girl jumped up the ladder and down. In the middle of her back[8] she had the *ukehan*. Everybody called out, "Something is the matter with the wife of the *shiwanna an tsauwaki*." The children were frightened and ran away. She ran out on the road and ran away to *atsinake* [on south side] to the spring. She looked into the water. She talked [?] into the water. She went on to *pichukaya*, *kanul*, *tolok-nana*, *katechia*, *aiyaya*.[9] Thence she went on to *shipapulemi*. When she arrived, her fathers said, "Have you come? Have you come back?" She said, "Yes." They said, "By your doing as you have done, hereafter when people are out hunting and we come along and they don't want us to hurt them, if they will give the *sayatasha* call, we will all run away and not hurt them. Because of the way you did, we will all do the same." That's why the bear who long ago would talk, now do not talk. Now if the hunter is out and is frightened, if he will make the call of his father *saya-tasha*, the bear will hear and run away to his home in *shipapulemi*. When the girl was home the bears told her that the young man had made light of his backs and hands.[10] They would go and get him and give him a talking to in order to make him think more of his backs and hands. When the girl had run away the young man became sick. He went to bed. He was sick four days. On the fourth night his wife came after him as a bear. While all were

asleep she took him on her back and carried him to *shipapulemi*. When they arrived, the bears had their altar prepared. They gave him a talking to. They said, "Because you had made light of the girls we sent our daughter to punish you. When you go back you are not to make light of your backs and hands." The girl carried him home. When he returned he did not heed what they had told him, so in four days he died and went to *koluwela*. That is why the girl went to *halona*, and because, when she heard the call of *sayatasha* she ran home, today when a hunter gives the call of *sayatasha* the bears won't hunt him but will run away home. *lewi*.

NOTES

Informant, Waisilutiwa. Heard in *matke tsanna* fraternity.

[1] This is, I infer, one of the dial or the calender plates Cushing mentions. *Century*, IV (N.S.), p. 39.

[2] A ruin at northwest base of *towa yalene*.

[3] In the East, the place, according to this informant, where all the fraternities originated. *Cf.* "Zuñi Creation Myths," p. 426.

[4] Two varieties, *tuyane*, red; *tukluptse*, yellow.

[5] Exclamation of dismay.

[6] The normal measure of a day's grinding is one basketful.

[7] The call of *sayatasha* is the bear call. "When she heard it it meant for her to go."

[8] Were a hunter to catch an animal and let it go, he would first tie a downy eagle feather to its back. Fetich stone animals have a feather thus tied to them. In another folk-tale I have collected the animals of the six directions who volunteer help and protection to the hero ask him to place a downy eagle feather on their back.

[9] These are all places where the *shalako* plant. See p. 186.

[10] Meaning the backs and hands of the girls who had come to court him. See p. 276.

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